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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1758

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET-HUNGARIAN DISCUSSION ON NATIONS OF OPPOSING SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1979 pp 66-70

[Soviet-Hungarian Roundtable Discussion]

[Text] The Soviet-Hungarian scientific meeting, organized in Moscow between 15 and 19 May 1979 by the Institute of the Economy of the Socialist World System of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs, was an important event in Hungarian-Soviet relations that are improving and are becoming more and more efficient. The participants* of the meeting discussed the following topic: "tendencies in the Development of Political Relations Between States Belonging to the Two Antagonistic Social Systems in Europe in the 1970's and in the First Half of the 1980's. The three main questions of the discussion were:

1. Global factors in the development of political relations between European states belonging to the two antagonistic social systems (USA, developing countries, China).
2. The European driving forces in the development of political relations between socialist and capitalist countries (the effects of internal political development, the movement of bilateral and multilateral relations, military aspects of the relations).
3. Perspectives in the development of political relations between East and West in Europe in the first half of the 1980's.

The discussion of the first question began with verbal reports by V.I. Dashitshev (chief of the scientific section of the Institute of the Economy

*From the Soviet side: O.T. Bogomolov, I.I. Orlik, A.P. Butenko, V.I. Dashitshev, J.B. Smeral, N.P. Shmel'ov, J.S. Novopashin, A.A. Jazikova, V.M. Kulish, N.A. Ushakova, J.P. Davidov, M.A. Usiyevitsh, A.V. Bakhrameyev, D.M. Feldman, E.P. Pivovarova, A.T. Lesentshuk. The Hungarian delegation: Otto Suto, Jozsef Balazs, Mrs. Gabriella Izik, Mihaly Fulop, Lajos Hajdok.

of the Socialist World Systems) and Jozsef Balazs (chief of the scientific department of the Institute of Foreign Affairs). These were followed by other reports (Davidov, Ushakova, Stashevsky), speeches and a debate.

In the lively discussion, we arrived to the general recognition that global or extra-European factors more and more influence the development of the relations between European states belonging to the different social systems. For this reason, we must in this connection examine these factors more intensively than before. So much the more, as their role in European detente is not unambiguous and final, it is not unchanging and is not unchangeable.

The scientific analyses show that the United States perceives its interests in detente primarily through its global, mainly military and security interests. This automatically puts its relations toward detente within narrow limits. In addition, the American ruling circles define the concept of security almost exclusively as a military concept and this further limits the definition of detente itself. On the other hand, Western Europe shows much more interest in detente, not only because of its global but also because of European regional interests. The West-European ruling circles interpret the concept of security and detente much more broadly. In their definition, security is a complex (political, social, military and economic) category. The reason for having to point this out is that, on the one hand, the American influence is not getting stronger in Western Europe (its military is not weakening, its economy probably stagnates and its policies are weakening). On the other hand, the role of the United States in detente predominates, to a significant degree, in connection with the development of American and West-European relations.

The anti-socialistic and anti-Soviet attitude of American imperialism has not changed during detente, but new elements can be seen in the American world-political strategic thinking and in the tactics of foreign policy. A striving of American imperialism has been noted in recent times, to create an anti-Soviet world coalition. In this, they would like to include not only Western Europe but also Japan, China and the third world. On the other hand, Eastern Europe begins to emerge in the American strategic thinking as an independent strategic region which must be dealt with independently from the Soviet Union. The practice of this can be seen in the more and more differentiated and very selective policies of the United States. American imperialism thinks a pluralistic Europe, in which the socialist and capitalist countries would co-exist and conform to one another, but without the Soviet Union, conceivable. On the one hand, its selective and differentiated policies are consciously based on the development of bilateral interstate relations but, on the other hand, they are unequivocally directed against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. This is a grave problem, so much the more, as the positive role of the United States in the international detente could prevail primarily through the improvement of Soviet-American relations.

In the United States, the dangerous concept of a "cool war" (it is neither cold war, nor detente) has emerged in opposition to detente. It is not

impossible that the United States might, with this concept, carry Western Europe away with itself. But it is more probable that the U.S. will come closer to the present West-European definition and practice of detente.

We may postulate, with a great probability, that, in spite of the great difficulties, a more balanced period will follow in the Soviet-American relations. Thus the entire European detente also might become more balanced. The main condition to solve this dilemma is to close the SALT II agreement and to successfully prepare the SALT III agreement.

At any rate, The United States is standing, at present, at the crossroads. It is an inevitable necessity, and a factual possibility, for it to select the right direction.

The third world has not realized yet that developing countries have an interest in international detente. For this reason, they exert only a modest--generally positive--direct influence on detente. Their indirect influence is much greater. European detente cannot be made (and we do not want to make it) independent from the grave problems and conflicts of the developing countries. The third world's indirect influence on the European detente is very contradictory. There is a need for a special inquiry to define its dominating (positive or negative) aspects.

It is without any doubt, however, that the role of the developing countries in international detente is increasing. And our interest is that this role be as favorable as possible (not impeding but instigating detente). For this reason, we must make further attempts to make our policies toward developing countries more efficient.

Up until now, China played a negative role: it has made the international situation worse and more complex. In analyzing the facts, we must conclude, unfortunately, that this role of China is going to continue. It is a fact, however, that this huge country's struggles with the questions of power and conceptions (economy, foreign economy and foreign policy) have not yet come to an end. We must analyze not only the negative but also the favorable tendencies, aspects and facts. China lives in a period of changes and has great possibilities for change. It is in our interest to promote the favorable changes. The road to active contribution to international detente leads through the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations.

We must do everything to impede the integration of the negative effects of global and extra-European factors facing European detente. We must hinder the entwining of the negative factors and aspects. On the other hand, we must do everything to neutralize the negative effects. And finally, we must fight against the sources of the negative effects, and for the positive changes.

The discussion of the second question was introduced by the reports of N.P. Shmelyov, chief of the scientific department of the Institute of the Economy of the Socialist World System, and Mrs. Gabriella Izik, chief of the scientific

section of the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs. This was followed by the report of V.M. Kul'ish.

In the discussions that followed the reports, we came to the conclusion that the processes of detente slowed down from the mid-1970's. Detente in Europe, however, did not experience a shock. In spite of the slower development, there were significant results in bilateral interstate relations. Political, economic, scientific and cultural relations further developed. The institutionalization of multilateral relations is being continued (meetings on the model of the one held in Belgrade, various forums and conferences).

At the same time, a lack of agreement between CEMA and EEC is an increasingly difficult problem. The fact that the EEC rejects the CEMA's organizational proposals, is a hindrance to the development of multilateral relations, a disturbance of bilateral economic relations and a strain in the policy as a whole of European security and detente. Thus it is more and more urgent to deal with this question.

Experience shows that the capitalist countries subject the development of pan-European and bilateral economic relations to political conditions, namely, they want to extort political and military concessions from the socialist countries. The capitalist countries strive, even in economic relations, to make good their differentiated and selective policies. This ambition is a great burden on the European economic situation and on the European security and detente policies.

The capitalist countries think that the economic factor is an effective means against the socialist countries. It is probable that they will take this premise as their starting point, even in the years to follow.

All of this is leading the countries of the socialist community to increase their efforts to solve their individual problems and to further strengthen their common positions.

However, the greatest contradiction and problem of European detente is that military detente is lagging behind political detente. There are various reasons for this. Political confidence and decisiveness, necessary for solving military questions, are still lacking in the West. Consequently, the strengthening of mutual confidence is an extremely important task. Economic relations are still not a strong enough basis for political detente. There is thus a need for further efforts in this respect in this area as well. Under such conditions, dealing with military questions is especially difficult. Thus what is needed is to create a harmony between the various processes of detente. This would hasten and make more effective the appropriate treatment of the military aspects of European security and cooperation. But within all this, the incitement of military detente is also, by itself, an extremely important and urgent task.

Factors of internal policy play a big and increasing role in the observable processes and emerging questions. The contradictory development of these is, however, not very clear-cut. In certain capitalist countries the right wing is becoming more influential. It is a question, however, whether this represents a longer-range tendency and, if yes, what might be its consequences with regard to European detente. The possibility, that a certain cyclicism is prevalent in the movement of West-European internal political forces, is not to be precluded. In other words, it is not to be precluded that the significant expansion of the left wing will be temporarily followed by a relative strengthening of the right wing. But it is especially difficult to predict its possible expansion in space and time. Even the possibility, that a more balanced period will follow, in European magnitude, in the movement of internal political factors, cannot be precluded. At any rate, there is a need for a further thorough study of internal political factors.

V.I. Dashitshev and Otto Suto (chief of the scientific department of the Institute of Foreign Affairs) read the introductory reports with reference to the third question.

On the basis of the known tendencies, facts and experiences, and on the basis of scientific hypotheses regarding the possible new elements, we came to the conclusion that, in all probability, European detente will endure and will continue also in the first half of the 1980's. Detente will develop in the first half of the 1980's essentially the same way as it did in the second half of the 1970's. That is, in a manner of evolution and at a moderate pace as compared with the first half of the 1970's. This means that detente will quantitatively increase in all areas, that is to say, it will take steps forward and will contribute to the conditions of new qualitative changes. Thus we may reckon with a further improvement of pan-European relations.

The probable degree of improvement is difficult to determine. If the favorable effects of the external factors will become stronger and the internal factors will improve (or at least will not deteriorate), the degree of improvement may be quite significant. It is more probable, however, that the degree of improvement will be relatively modest.

Even a further slow-down (or a standstill or retrogression) of detente, namely, that a more unfavorable situation will develop as compared even with the second half of the 1970's, cannot be precluded. But this has the least probability. For this would require a historically accidental, hardly imaginable convergence, alignment and coincidence of the negative factors. To say it more simply, it would require a deterioration of the international situation, the fall-through of SALT II and SALT III, the unproductive ending of the Vienna conference on the reduction of military forces, the deterioration of Soviet-American relations, the strengthening of internal and external negative effects, etc. At the same time, all of the above would have to happen simultaneously.

On the basis of the greatest probability, we postulate that the necessity and possibility of a new qualitative improvement in European detente will mature by about 1985.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST EUROPEAN, U.S. CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES MEET IN KARLOVY VARY

AU091605 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Dec 79 p 5 AU

[Unattributed report: "In Joint Work for Peace: Fourth Talks of Church Representatives in Karlovy Vary"]

[Summary] "For the fourth time since 1962 church representatives from all European socialist countries and the United States gathered for an exchange of views from 21 to 23 November in Karlovy Vary. In the meeting, which was held under the chairmanship of Bishop Dr Toth of Hungary and Dr John Groenfeldt of the Moravian Church in the United States, participated: Metropolitan Yuvenaliy (USSR); Metropolitan Kalinik (Bulgarian); Metropolitan Nestor (ROMANIA); General Bishop Dr Michalko (CSSR); General Superintendent Doctor Benedyktovicz (Poland); Professor McCord, president of the Reformist World Federation; Doctor Port, president of the United Church of Christ; and Alice Wimmer of the U.S. National Council of Churches. The GDR was represented by senior church councillor Christa Lewek; senior consistory councillor Dr Siegfried Plath; as well as by Union Party friends senior church councillor Hartmut Mitzenheim; and Carl Ordnung, secretary of the Christian Peace Conference regional committee in the GDR.

An Atmosphere of Mutual Confidence

The more than 40 participants in the meeting, which was held to discuss talks of the churches in East-West relations, unanimously adopted a declaration. It was pointed out that difficult problems were discussed at the meeting in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, something that was assessed as a fundamental expression of unity in Christ. "Even though profound social and political differences continue we found ourselves united in the view that first, the continuation of the arms race brings the danger of a nuclear war and possible destruction increasingly closer to mankind and that second, we Christians can and must act in love and belief and not out of fear."

Peace Initiative of the Soviet Union Appreciated

"The participants in the Karlovy Vary talks regard as an important step for that purpose the meeting of church representatives from the Soviet Union and

the United States from 27 to 29 March in Geneva where the declaration 'Choose life' was formulated. That declaration was reaffirmed at the Karlovy Vary meeting. The Karlovy Vary declaration notes 'that it should be reiterated that we are entering a critical stage in the history of efforts for nuclear arms control and disarmament.'

Referring to the importance of SALT II the declaration continues: "We agreed at the fourth Karlovy Vary talks that every possible effort must be undertaken to support the treaty and not to gamble away the chance offered by it by augmenting weapons in spheres not covered by the treaty." The declaration goes on to say: "We are deeply worried lest any increase in such weapons threaten the approximate equilibrium of nuclear forces that appears to exist in Europe. Therefore we urgently demand that every possible effort be made to examine and develop such steps serving understanding as are contained in the most recent proposals made by L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that indicate Soviet interest in the prevention of another nuclear expansion."

Negotiations on Disarmament

"The church representatives suggest that governments should be requested to halt the development and deployment of new missiles and to step up negotiations on a new bilateral reduction in military potentials. Security also would be enhanced by extending the arms reduction talks to all nuclear powers."

In conclusion the declaration calls for solidarity with all poor and oppressed people and notes that as the justice and peace of God knows no limits there must be no denial of rights on any basis.

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GDR-BULGARIAN RECTORS CONFERENCE--The second rectors' conference of GDR and Bulgarian partner colleges was concluded after 3 days of deliberation at Rostock's Wilhelm Pieck University on Thursday [22 November]. Under the leadership of Prof Dr Guenther Heidorn, GDR deputy minister of university and technical school matters, and Prof Dr Ivan Ilev, first deputy minister of public education and chairman of the college council of Bulgaria, the participants deliberated on the further development of cooperation between the partner colleges and adopted pertinent recommendations. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

CEMA COLLEGE PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE--"The fourth conference of rectors of pedagogical partner colleges of socialist countries opened on Tuesday [20 November] at the Potsdam Hans Marchwitz Culture House. The 140 participants from 56 universities and colleges in the Bulgarian People's Republic, CSSR, GDR, the Republic of Cuba, the USSR, the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic will deliberate on their further cooperation until Friday." In his opening speech Werner Lorenz, state secretary in the Ministry of Public Education, praised the close contacts and the exchange of experiences between the partner colleges and pointed out that the conference will help to further improve the education of teachers in agreement with the requirements of the countries concerned. "The main reports will be delivered by the heads of the GDR and USSR delegations, Dr Ernst Machacek, deputy minister of education, and Prof Dr Valeriy K. Rosov, head of the main department for teachers' education in the Public Education Ministry respectively." [AU012050 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

HONECKER GREETINGS TO CEAUSESCU--Berlin--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent a telegram to Nicolai Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, congratulating him on his re-election as secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party by the 12th congress. In the telegram Erich Honecker conveys cordial greetings and wishes Ceausescu success, good health and vigor in his important, responsible post. [Text] [LD232204 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1723 GMT 23 Nov 79 LD]

GDR OFFICIALS AT ALBANIAN RECEPTION--Berlin--On the occasion of Albania's National Day, the 35th anniversary of Albania's liberation, the charge

d'affaires of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, Dhimiter Karanxha, gave a reception on Wednesday that was attended by Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Herbert Krolkowski, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Gerhard Nitzschke, vice minister of foreign trade; senior officials of the GDR Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade ministries; and heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR. [Text] [LD282252 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 28 Nov 79 LD]

GDR-POLISH PARAMILITARY COOPERATION--Cooperation among GST [Society for Sports and Technology] bezirk branches and wojwodship branches of LOK [Polish National Defense League] will be continued in 1980 with paramilitary sports contests, visits of delegations and exchanges of experiences. This was agreed upon by delegations of both paramilitary sports organizations under the leadership of their chairmen, Lt Gen Guenther Teiler and Division Gen Wacław Jagas. They underscored the benefits of multifaceted and close relations between GST and LOK basic branches primarily in the areas close to the common border. [Text] [AU056945 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Dec 79 p 2 AU]

BULGARIAN HEALTH MINISTER IN GDR--Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and minister of science and technology, received on Friday [20 November] Prof Dr Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for friendly talks. Dr Weiz stressed the significant role of the health and social services for the further deepening of bilateral cooperation among the two fraternal countries. Minister Popivanov who heads a delegation of the Ministry of Public Health of the Bulgarian People's Republic, studied basic medical services to the GDR citizens in Berlin and in Gera bezirk. [AU056945 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Dec 79 p 2 AU]

GDR PERSONNEL VISIT KIEV--A meeting of comrades in arms at the M. V. Frunze Kiev officers college was the climax of a visit of members of the FDJ, National People's Army and border troops currently visiting the Ukrainian capital. The FDJ members met with war veterans before their departure for Moscow. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS GDR--On Tuesday [13 November] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation of the Soviet society for friendship with the GDR led by Ivan Gustov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the party control committee at the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Soviet society for friendship with the GDR, which visited the GDR on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October socialist revolution. Erich Mueckenberger gave an account of the activity of the party and other social forces, particularly about the struggle for securing peace on the basis of the new Soviet peace proposals recently submitted by Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin. Problems related to the further cooperation among the friendship societies in 1980 were discussed at the talks. Participating in the talks were Heinz Buch, SED Central Committee member and deputy chairman

of the party's central auditing commission, and Kurt Thieme, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and secretary general of the German-Soviet friendship society. [Text] [AU131950 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

CSSR, HUNGARIAN ARTISTS' COOPERATION--A working plan of creative cooperation between the Czechoslovak Union of Creative Artists and the Hungarian Artists' Federation for 1980 was signed in Prague yesterday [9 January] by national artist Prof J. Malejovsky and A. Buzas. [Text] [Prague PRACE in Czech 10 Jan 80 p 3 AU]

CSO: 2400

CPSL DAILY DEFENDS AUTHOR OF CRITICAL ARTICLE

AU101255 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jan 80 p 2 AU

[Commentary by Viera Sladeckova in the column "Notes": "Instead of Praise--Sanctions"]

[Text] A strange thing has happened at the General Directorate of Strojsmalt in Bratislava. To explain the matter we have to return to last year's final quarter. We ordered from Dr Dusan Vajda, an employee of the General Directorate of Strojsmalt in Bratislava, an article on the topic: Innovation of engineering consumer goods, making it a condition that he write very specifically on positive examples but also on the reserves existing in this sphere. The author prepared the article thoroughly and scrutinized a large quantity of complex material of the economic production unit and the ministry of the sector, evaluating objectively the situation concerning innovation--the activity of producers and the impact of the scientific-research base. Proceeding from valid documents of the General Directorate of Strojsmalt and the Federal Ministry of General Engineering, he wrote an analytical article. In it he analyzed the existing situation and confronted it with the requirements ensuing for the Strojsmalt economic production unit from the 15th CPCZ Congress and subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee. He highlighted the prevailing positive aspects and only very tactfully mentioned the existing reserves--speaking of them as of insufficiently used possibilities. We published the article. And what followed: At a meeting of the executive board of the General Directorate of Strojsmalt on 29 October last year (which was chaired by Division Director Eng Miroslav Janza as a proxy for the general director) the following decision was made--I quote from the minutes: "The contents of the article 'Innovation Will Determine Prosperity,' published by PRAVDA on 23 October 1979 was reproved and Comrade Director Eng Struharik will submit a report on the conclusions drawn against the author." I note that to date--in connection with the article concerned--no one from the General Directorate of Strojsmalt has either telephoned or protested in writing against its contents. We believe thus, logically, that everything was in complete order. Yet it was not, because--for incomprehensible reasons and grounds--the author of the article Dr D. Vajda has not only had to suffer various humiliations at his own place of work (the Strojsmalt General Directorate) but in the form of a sanction--as he was orally informed and as has happened--was also deprived of a financial

remuneration as a component of the flexible part of the salary. And that only because he "cared" to uncover in an article the unused reserves for further prosperity in the innovation activity of the Strojsmalt economic production unit. Had he been silent, he would have earned praise. For the truth published in PRAVDA his superiors drew the "appropriate conclusions."

Such a procedure and approach of the leading economic workers at the General Directorate of Strojsmalt is--to say the least--strange. And that in spite of the fact that the chairman of the CPSL plant organization, Eng Stefan Majer, was present at the above meeting of the executive board. We ask, therefore, Comrade General Director Eng J. Behrik--although he was on a tour of duty outside Bratislava at that time, but was informed about the whole matter subsequently--if he does not consider it necessary to rectify the wrongs, albeit he did not cause them. However, within the framework of his authority he can--and should--take the appropriate action. We will also gladly publish a statement by Eng Majer, the chairman of the CPSL plant organization, [explaining] how such an egregious decision could be made in his presence and with his participation in the decision-making. It is, after all, an almost classical example of oppression and sanctions for any, even the slightest hint at criticism in the party press.

CSO: 2400

'RIDE PRAVO' COMMENTS ON NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

LD041244 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD

[Press review on criticism of shortcomings]

[Text] The RIDE PRAVO editorial, headlined "A Weapon in the Struggle for Fulfilling Assignments," stresses the need for systematic support of all acts of initiative and creativity and also for criticism of shortcomings and the striving to overcome them. It states that the development of society is not and cannot be considered in the short term as distinct from past developments. The situation has to be assessed in the wider context. It is therefore understandable that the implementation of society's plans are influenced by complicated packages of objective and subjective factors. The objective factors require meticulous analysis and the finding of ways to overcome this influence, while subjective factors not only need to be expelled from the exercise but, most importantly, an attempt should be made to prevent them. As RIDE PRAVO stresses, one of the most effective methods for this is criticism.

The party does not look upon criticism as mere condemnation of a given state of affairs but more as assistance to put shortcomings right and eliminate them. Some people however find it hard to be criticized and regard it as a personal attack on them rather than simply a proper indication of errors or things undone. These are people who have failed to learn to sweep their own front door or use the Leninist approach to criticism. Criticism has a significant role in the entire life of society. There is no domain in which it might not be regarded as an important weapon in the fight to improve various spheres of our life, RIDE PRAVO continues. It is, naturally, most markedly manifest in the national economic sector which directly affects the creation of values for the further development of society and the life of each unit.

Shortcomings must never be remitted, not least in management, nor must indifference toward them be suffered. Criticism here has an irreplaceable (?importance). In the complex mechanism of economic relationships every mistake ripples through to the broader context and, in a chain reaction, results in further problems. It is, therefore, essential to draw attention to mistakes and shortcomings in good time.

Under no conditions should this mean criticism for criticism's sake, RUDE PRAVO stresses, but rather an appeal to the consciousness and conscience, and to the responsibility of those in management. Thousands of examples could be cited from enterprises which grumble about their [word indistinct] suppliers, although their own behavior toward their various plants may be no better. This is nothing but blatant opportunism and alibism which have nothing in common with criticism. Criticism is, after all, a weapon which must not be blunted by restricted group or departmental interests. The changed economic conditions require that all reserves be mobilized to enable us, in conditions which are much tougher than at any time before, to cope with our tasks and make a steady advance toward the goals mapped out by the 15th CPCZ Congress.

This is why it is so urgent that results achieved hitherto in our work should be subject everywhere to critical analysis and new approaches discovered, RUDE PRAVO continues. Much greater efficiency and quality than hitherto will decide whether the national income will be created on an adequate scale to meet the growing requirements of society. Eyes must not be closed to this fact. There is only one way out: that of mobilizing sufficient strength to increase the dynamism of national income growth. And to this end critical influence on the consciousness and conscience must be used, primarily toward responsible management workers, concludes the RUDE PRAVO editorial.

CSO: 2400

SLOVAK 'PRAVDA'S' TRAVNICEK WRITES ON WORK DISCIPLINE, SCIENCE

AU042130 Bratislava PRAVDA Weekend Supplement in Slovak 4 Jan 80 pp 1, 2 AU

[Article by Bohus Travnicek: "The Jubilee Years"]

[Text] Modern man of today does not have much understanding for symbols and emotions. He may, but he does not have to be aroused by the fact that we have entered the eighties, that time has already passed by the first days of the new year.

Nevertheless, these days some of us are more receptive and listen to the sound of the chords within ourselves which we usually fail to hear in day-to-day life. That is why this is perhaps the appropriate time to draw a small private balance sheet of what we have gone through and what we have done as well as for plans and resolutions for the days to come. A time for my, your, our resolutions--for the private as well as for the social ones.

Or am I satisfied with everything, indifferent to all shortcomings and guided by my own individualistic philosophy with only my private property in mind? Or am I already fed up with the gossip, harassment and intrigues that pounced upon me when I tried to be frank, critical and principled? Or am I still sincerely interested in the prosperity of my workplace, in the improvement and enrichment of interpersonal relations and in the gradual prevalence of the socialist ethics?

The questions and question marks are more than plentiful. And I am just as convinced that the answers to them would be diverse and contradictory. In the same way as our personalities and our way of thinking and acting vary, our categories of values and criteria concerning both essential and nonessential questions and problems also differ; depending on the degree of development of the "cult" of my own person, on how well I succeed to blend that which is mine with that which is ours and on whether I perceive the intricate nature and complexity of our and my tasks, that is to say the contingency of the growth of my standard on living on the quality and the results of our work.

Plans and Resolutions?

Who would not have them! They may be of one kind or another, wise or immature, businesslike or uninspired, petty and subjective or they may have a wider social validity.

Someone may swear, someone else may sneer and yet another may wave his hand in resignation--yet let us not reject in advance that which in no way deserves to be rejected: what if we made the sincere and honest resolution to work so that each piece of our work could bear the emblem of good quality.

Is it useless, unrealistic, inexpedient or unnecessary?

I am deeply convinced that the opposite is true. To work honestly, skillfully and in good quality is not only the supreme requirement today but the categorical imperative of the times. To have the moral right as a consumer to place high demands on the merchandise I purchase, my work as a producer must be on a similar level.

Someone may be sincere in retorting: Yes, that is correct but endeavor and good will alone do not suffice to safeguard good-quality work and a good-quality product. Many mutually independent factors affect the production process, factors that are often in opposition to that good will and that I cannot solve in principle or remove or eliminate--as is frequently the case--their negative impact.

The raised objection is justified in many respects and it is substantially more complicated. However, let us hold the truthful mirror up to it and look at it from the most factual side.

The beginning, the starting point of all good-quality work is personal work discipline. There the thread of efforts for increased or high quality work quite logically unwinds. That is a basic constant element, a fact that has been tested a hundred and a thousand times by the criterion of practice, a fact that no one can deny.

Yet, nevertheless....

How often, how irresponsibly and how frivolously do we sometimes violate the working discipline. The mind of a sensible person often boggles when he considers what indifference, disinterest, carelessness and other manifestations of lacking discipline can accomplish. Sometimes the views and attitudes of some individuals are a manifestation of a warped perception of socialism; as though the lack of discipline was an expression and a manifestation of freedom or democracy, as if it was something like an inevitable phenomenon accompanying socialism. The individual who thinks in such a way is severely and totally mistaken, harms himself, the collective and the society and is not morally entitled to make excessive claims or to put forward constantly increasing personal demands.

[AU042140] How do we embark upon the path toward quality work? We cannot start without substantially increasing our own work discipline. And not only that--but also the state, economic and civic discipline.

After all, it is shocking to hear the notion--a truthful and a realistic one--that we would, perhaps, be twice as well off if everyone of us worked normally and in a disciplined manner. What is stopping us? No matter how complex the obstacles might be--and many of them are not that bad at all--they must be uncompromisingly eliminated and consistently resolved.

That means we must not only resolve and eliminate the subjective causes of shortcomings and mobilize the existing reserves, but we must change the values of some people--in their minds, attitudes and deeds--and their views and interpretation of the advantages of socialism. Even this social system does not produce its achievements automatically, without people's work and striving; the dependence and the connection between the results of work and the standard of living is obvious--even if more than one of us does not want to acknowledge it. Thus we should at last understand that we can and will have the standard of living that corresponds to the standard of our work.

We are stressing work discipline which is inadequate in many places, and the deepening and strengthening of which is as necessary for us as salt. But when demands increase--demands on everyone and everything--is work discipline alone enough to fulfill tasks?

I am profoundly convinced that even with good work discipline we cannot creatively master the tasks of building an advanced socialist society and of the current stage of scientific-technical revolution. Time categorically dictates what we orient ourselves unequivocally toward the most dynamic, accelerating power of the growth of efficiency and quality--toward scientific-technical development.

Unfortunately, in many quarters this demand has become more of a popular slogan than actually incorporated into creative plans. In the long run, however, slogans are not enough. Equally, it is not just words when we say that the evolutionary development of sciences has made a revolutionary breakthrough. We must not, and even cannot underestimate it. This sovereign dictatorship of science dictates that we face it at all workplaces, at all levels. We must put an end to the absence of science and technology. Science and technology must become omnipresent, all-encompassing and of absolute influence.

Talking about conservation, efficiency and quality without linking them with, and without making the maximum use of, science and technology in the production is just beating a dead horse, deceiving oneself and society. And this is true despite the fact that the small or large reserves that exist at many workplaces are underestimated. These, too, must be uncovered and utilized. We must uncover new, great reserves to raise efficiency and profits. And this is simply not possible without the decisive word: scientific-technical progress.

We need dictatorship in production--or as Comrade J. Lenart usually put it--the dictatorship of science in science. Whether one likes it or not, whether one agrees with it or not, there is no other road.

It can be that I have disappointed more than one reader by speaking in a new year article in the most unpoetic manner. But are these just empty words? I do not think that this is quite true. In the first place I am talking about where the shoe pinches.

in the present situation, lofty words would be just a gold-leaf embellishing that which must not be embellished.

However, despite that, we have begun the new year with a realistic optimism and a conviction that we will be able to cope with the tasks facing us. We are inspired by the fact that we have begun the year that will celebrate the 35th anniversary of our country's liberation by the Soviet army, and that last year we achieved considerable successes.

We have the strength and the capability to multiply our successes in the coming weeks and months of this, the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. That will depend on everyone of us.

CS0: 2400

SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' CRITICIZES WESTERN PLURALISM

AU072055 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jan 80 p 3 AU

[Article by Lev Hanzel: "The Nonscientific and Antisocialist Essence of the Idea of Pluralism; the 'Division of Power' Doctrine"]

[Excerpts] Against Real Socialism

In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly after World War II--when the contradiction between the pluralistically idealized model of bourgeois democracy and the political reality in the capitalist countries has been becoming increasingly obvious to the popular masses--bourgeois ideologists, reformers and revisionists have begun to step up their attempts at "perfecting" real socialism in the sense of the doctrine of pluralism. They are propagating models of "market socialism," "democratic socialism," "humanistic socialism," of "socialism with human face," "National models of socialism" and so forth. These, allegedly, have "united" the best aspects and advantages of capitalism and socialism. In reality, however, they are aimed, above all, against the principles of Marxism-Leninism and real socialism.

Despite their mostly pseudo-Marxist or pseudosocialist form, they strive to objectively upset the uniform world outlook and the theoretical foundation of the communist movement and of the socialist countries. The pluralistic structure of the bourgeois-democratic society with all its attributes and class character is to be foisted upon the actually existing and developing socialist society because, allegedly, it constitutes the highest form of democracy.

The democratic character of the political system of the socialist society is being assessed according to what degree it corresponds to that model. Such a method of assessing the meaning [podstata] of real socialism and socialist democracy is the starting point of the campaign waged by anti-socialist elements of various persuasions for "democratic rights and freedoms in the socialist countries," of the activity of the so-called dissidents, of the counterrevolutionary document Charter 78 [as published] in the CSSR and so forth.

Thus the current ideological and political pluralism wants to become a universal doctrine valid for all countries regardless of their sociopolitical systems. After all, there--allegedly--always existed and will exist many ideologies and spiritual and political currents at the same time, every one of which regards itself as the true one. Therefore, everyone of them should get a chance in a "free play of power" to strive for a share in society's political and spiritual life.

However, the fact is that even in the most advanced bourgeois-democratic countries a really fair "competition" of ideas and views does not exist. That opportunity is only afforded to those political and ideological movements and currents which do not threaten the bourgeois class character and the foundation of the rule of monopolies. We know, for example, that most various so-called dissidents have found a refuge in the FRG and other West European countries and an opportunity for diversionist activity and attacks on the countries of real socialism. But in the FRG it is enough for people to have thoughts sympathetic to Marxism-Leninism and real socialism to be dismissed from their jobs in accordance with employment ban bill.

The reality is such that the bourgeois-democratic pluralistic thesis on the equality of ideologies is actually designed only for the socialist society which rejects the bourgeois ideology. It has to create a situation for propagating the ethical norms, ideas of values and the bourgeois way of life in the socialist countries.

Thus behind all those efforts and "movements" aimed at insuring human and democratic rights in the socialist countries does not stand a genuine concern for those rights--which are being consistently insured by real socialism only--but the wish under the banner of "pluralistic Marxism" to legalize an undisturbed export of counterrevolution and bourgeois ideas to the socialist countries.

CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

TRIBUTE TO ARTIST--In Bratislava today Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSI Central Committee, handed letters of greeting to Julius Lorincz, chairman of the Union of Slovak Visual Artists and chairman of the Central Committee of Csemadok [Cultural Union of Hungarian Working People in Czechoslovakia] and meritorious artist, from the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSI Central Committee on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The letters pay tribute to the artist's years-long active political and public activity in building a socialist society and his contribution to the development of socialist art. Present at the ceremony were Miroslav Valek, member of the CPSI Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Minister of Culture, and Rudolf Jurik, head of a department of the CPSI Central Committee. [Text] [LD141350 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 14 Jan 80 LD]

CATHOLIC SOCIALIST SOCIETY--Prague, CTK--M. Lucan, deputy federal premier, yesterday [8 January] in the State Castle in Prague-Kolodeue received the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, headed by Cardinal F. Tomasek, and the Presidium of the "Pacem in Terris CSSR" association of Catholic clergy, led by its chairman, Vicar General Dr A Vesely. The reception was attended by M. Klusak, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, M. Lucan appraised the contribution made by the Catholic clergy and church for the benefit of the development of our socialist society and of joint efforts in the fight for a just peace and the consolidation of friendship among the peoples, on behalf of the clergymen Cardinal F. Tomasek said that the Catholic Church, its clergy and believers would also contribute this year to the further advance of our society and would fully support the peace efforts and the fight against feverish armament. The reception was also attended by K. Hruza, head of the secretariat for church matters in the office of the CSSR Government Presidium. [Text] [AU101743 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

AMBASSADOR TO SAO TOME--Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, has appointed Milos Vesely the ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe with permanent residence in Luanda. [Text] [LD210848 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 20 Dec 79 LD]

MEETINGS WITH AMBASSADORS--Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, received in Prague today Nguyen Tien Thong, the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They discussed possibilities for the further expansion of cooperation between the legislative bodies of both friendly countries. Alois Indra also met today U Tin Da, the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of the Burma Union, and Bengt Roesidesi, the ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden, prior to them taking up their diplomatic posts in Czechoslovakia. [Text] [LD210848 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 19 Dec 79 LD]

BILAK MEETS ENVOY TO MOZAMBIQUE--Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ today received Vaclav Brezak, CSSR ambassador to the People's Republic of Mozambique (?in connection with his taking up his duties). [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD]

DELEGATION IN SRV--An official Czechoslovak delegation, headed by Michal Sabolcik, minister-director of the Federal Price Office, has arrived in Hanoi. After a 2-day stay in Vietnam the delegation will take part in the celebrations on the first anniversary of the victory of the Kampuchean revolution over the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary antipopular clique, which is to be marked on 7 January. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD]

CPCZ DELEGATE TO CANADA--On 3 January Michal Spak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, departed for Canada to attend the 24th congress of the Communist Party of Canada as a delegate of the CPCZ. At Ruzyně airport he was seen off by Michal Stefanak, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee Department for International Affairs. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 80 p 1 AU]

JAPANESE ENVOY ENDS TOUR--Prague--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here on Friday Japanese Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Fumihiko Suzuki who is ending his diplomatic mission in the country. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD]

ENVOY TO ETHIOPIA NAMED--Prague--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak has appointed Libor Pocl new Czechoslovak ambassador to Socialist Ethiopia. At the same time he recalled from this post Artur Bernasek. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1537 GMT 4 Jan 80 LD]

CSO: 2400

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BUNDESWEHR DEFECTOR INTERVIEWED ON EAST BERLIN TV

DW121102 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 2030 GMT 10 Dec 79
DW

[Interview with former Bundeswehr Officer Erhard Mueller by Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler within the framework of the "Black Channel" program--live]

[Text] [Question] Mr Erhard Mueller, as our news agency ADN reported at the beginning of this year, you moved to the German Democratic Republic after a service period of more than 20 years in various sectors of the Bundeswehr. You were an officer of the Bundeswehr. Would you tell us some details about it?

[Answer] Yes, I served in the Bundeswehr for more than 20 years. My last rank was that of a lieutenant in the navy. My most important duties were those of a staff member in the U.S.-FRG liaison group as well as aerial photography and intelligence officer in the Naval Air Force Wing 2 of the Federal Navy within the NATO command area Comnavbaltap.

[Question] U.S.-FRG liaison group means that group for liaison between the United States and the FRG. What were the tasks of this group?

[Answer] The character and the mission were explained to us, to me and the other nine officers selected for work in this group by the then head of the department (CS-2) of the Federal Defense Ministry, General Becke, at Hardthoehe on 2 September 1974 on the occasion of the establishment of this group, as follows: At the NATO Council meetings there are always different assessments of the military potential of the Warsaw Pact among the NATO partners. Individual member states, General Becke named the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark, reportedly showed inadequate readiness for greater defense spending. This reflects an underrating of the danger from the East. This is why it is necessary to create a joint German-U.S. organ for the purposeful digestion of all joint findings about the defense potential of the Warsaw Pact. The results of this group's work are to make it possible for the U.S. and FRG governments to exert effective influence on the other NATO partners at the NATO Council meetings with the objective of increasing their arms expenditures.

The basic idea was also repeated several times and justified by Colonel Blochmann, the first head of the German component of this group, in service conferences. The pertinent talks had been conducted by the then incumbent defence ministers of the United States and the FRG, Schlesinger and Leber. In the summer of 1974, he said, a secret German-U.S. agreement was then concluded. General Becke expressly emphasized that this agreement and the working group to be set up were not known to the rest of the NATO partners, nor should they become known to them. Besides, it was a novelty that the Americans for the first time made information of satellite reconnaissance available to another NATO partner.

[Question] How did the creation of this secret group proceed? What is its structure? How large is its staff?

[Answer] Well, the secret agreement provides that the group be made up of 10 American and 10 German members. According to the agreement, it was envisaged that the number of people knowing about the existence of the group and its mission be limited to 25 for each side. The head of the group was U.S. Colonel Bowman, his deputy was Bundeswehr Colonel Blochmann. Today he is the department head for (?SC-3) in the Federal Defense Ministry. The German component of the group was outwardly called German Military Liaison Group. All members of the group worked under a description which must be phrased as follows: Group for the clarification of fundamental differences of opinion between the United States and the FRG in the military field.

[Question] And where is the headquarters of this so-called U.S.-FRG liaison group?

[Answer] When it started operations the working group was accommodated in a U.S. facility at Rheingastrasse, Wiesbaden-Schierstein. The present location of the group is in Bonn-Bad Godesberg. The group was divided up into the specialized fields ground forces, air forces, and naval forces. It was the latter field in which I worked.

[Question] Tell me, Mr Mueller, how did you get there? After all, one is not transferred to such a special unit so simply.

[Answer] In the summer of 1974 I received through official channels a teletype summons to report to the Federal Defense Ministry in Bonn shortly. I was told there that the talk to be held involved a secret matter of which only few people knew. What this involved was the cooperation with the Americans in the field of military intelligence. They said that according to the personal data sheets available, I currently was the only one of my group of service rank eligible for this mission. After my acceptance I was dismissed with the order not to make any statements about this talk. My service headquarters was informed that it was intended to transfer me effective 1 September 1974. Approximately 4 weeks prior to 1 September 1974 my service headquarters was asked to send me to Bonn on the date mentioned.

[Question] What material, what basic material for your work was made available to you?

[Answer] The main material for our work was the satellite reconnaissance material that was made available by the United States. It was complemented with national information on the location of the Warsaw Pact armed forces, by aviation reconnaissance and by electronic reconnaissance. Missing material was requested directly from the leadership staff of the armed forces. Also there was a so-called small official channel to Pullach via BND member Lieutenant Colonel Wichterich.

[Question] How was the work organized in that U.S.-BND coordination group?

[Answer] In the leadership staff of the armed forces the respective field of work was outlined and confirmed by the Americans. Thereafter the corresponding satellite material was requested in the United States and distributed to the work groups. One German and one American aide received the same task of investigating a complex. In some cases they achieved different results independent of each other. The results were compiled to make reports. The group leader produced an analysis on the basis of the reports. That analysis was examined once more by an American. Only thereafter was the final report compiled. The reports were written in several copies and passed on to U.S. and FRG offices.

[Question] In connection with what problems were the different results achieved that you just mentioned? That is, different interpretations of American and German aides. How were these differences of opinion solved?

[Answer] The differences of opinion existed with regard to the strength and fire power of individual units of the Warsaw Pact forces. The German group in working out its assessment of the naval infantry and the landing possibilities of the USSR had information that the Soviet Union in the Baltic area had one naval infantry regiment at its disposal. The Americans were not content with that information because in talks with the Danes it was not considered a danger for the straits, and so it could not be used for making them increase their expenditures. The Americans demanded that the assessment be complemented by information to the effect that in the landing operations aimed at conquering the Baltic and North Sea straits other Soviet units would be used in addition to the naval infantry. For that reason the one regiment that was spotted was turned into two brigades.

[Question] So it is that easy. Did such difference of opinion also occur in the working groups for land and air forces?

[Answer] I must say that I do not know much about the tasks handled by the work groups for land and air forces because of certain measures to keep things secret. But I know from talks that data on the strength of the Warsaw Pact forces touched off the greatest quarrels. The data had been requested in connection with the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of military potentials in Central Europe.

[Question] Mr Mueller, Western media in connection with their thesis about the threat from the East like to quote reliable sources, competent organs, and sometimes one even speaks of reconnaissance results. You have demonstrated the credibility of such evidence. Can you quote further examples, experience, or incidents illustrating how maybe even objective facts have been intentionally misinterpreted with political intentions?

[Answer] Yes, there are examples confirming the intended misinterpretation of facts as well as the manipulation and exaggeration of the potential of the Warsaw Pact armed forces and particularly of the Soviet Union's armed forces. First: In late 1976 and early 1977 six Soviet submarines with the NATO name Gulf-2 class were transferred to the Baltic. Their arrival was noted by naval forces of Denmark and the FRG. In addition, electronic reconnaissance measures and planes discovered the course of these submarines and their entrance into the Lipaya naval base. Because of this data, military reconnaissance in its monthly reports sent to the FRG federal chancellor as well as in information supplied to mass media, pointed out that the six submarines that had come from the North Sea fleet and were based in the Baltic, contributed considerably to increasing the strength of the Baltic fleet, and that they represent an additional threat for NATO. It was also known that, however, a submarine training base existed in Lipaya and that these submarines were most likely sent there. Moreover, these submarines that have been in operation for a long time were in such shape that they were likely to be considered unfit for operation. The last facts were ignored by military reconnaissance as well as by the FRG press. Only the information supporting the conclusion that the threat had been increased was published.

A second example: In 1976 and 1977 ships and planes of the Federal Navy observed that four to six landing craft of the Baltic fleet departed from Baltisk and Rostock within a 3-week period. The purpose of these travels was not clearly recognized. When these travels were concluded--first they were considered maneuvers--the FRG press published a report that with the help of naval transport some 1,000 tanks had been shipped to the GDR. Thereafter military reconnaissance reported that about 900 tanks had been transported to the GDR by sea and land routes within the framework of modernization. In fact, however, we experts found that the transport involved 640 tanks at the utmost. Later data showed that the troops were really equipped with a new type of tank, while the old technology had been considered unfit for action and was transported back to the Soviet Union with the same vehicles. The FRG press, however, kept silent about that also.

A third example: In the early seventies the Bundeswehr reconnaissance organs, on the basis of data coming from the United States, passed on information on the Soviet destroyer Krivak, a destroyer equipped with missiles.

[DW121200] It was said that this type of ship is equipped with modern missiles for the destruction of targets on the ground and at sea, the Bundeswehr and NATO upping the fire power of this ship in their assessment

of its combat capability. This is why in the next 5 to 6 years all ships of this type were regarded as an offensive weapon that must be taken seriously, a weapon that represents a grave threat. Only later was a correction made on the assessment of this type of ship because these ships were equipped with anti-submarine missiles and, hence, must be regarded as carriers of defensive rather than of offensive weapons. The alleged threat by them was pure manipulation.

[Question] Mr Mueller, do you believe that this material of the U.S.-German group has influenced the attitude of other governments?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] During your work in the reconnaissance organs of the Bundeswehr and in this liaison group you also came across concepts, ideas and measures which dealt with the use of nuclear weapons.

[Answer] I first came into contact with concepts and preparatory measures pertaining to the use of nuclear weapons in the sixties. The use of nuclear weapons had been planned in the Bundeswehr since the beginning of the sixties, and corresponding preparatory measures were carried out for the implementation of the plans. The concept of that time provided for the use of nuclear weapons by the Bundeswehr with the help of missiles, heavy artillery and F-104G aircraft. The use of this weapon was included in maneuvers at the time.

[Question] What do you know about the training of members of the Bundeswehr in the handling of nuclear weapons?

[Answer] To train these units in the handling of nuclear weapons it was envisaged to assign to them a specific number of American military personnel whose task included the guarantee of the technical operation and the stationing of the nuclear weapons. It is known to me that two to three pilots of Naval Air Force Wings 1 and 2 were sent to the arms school at Oberammergau for about 4 to 6 weeks. This took place for years. They then fulfill the task of instructors in the squadrons, conveying the knowledge obtained at the American school to other pilots.

[Question] Mr Mueller, are you familiar with the fields of use for the nuclear weapons? What I mean is, target lists of the nuclear-weapons carrying airplanes.

[Answer] The target lists comprised the operational area of the second tactical air fleet of NATO from the main river line eastward, including Western territories of the Soviet Union. The above mentioned target lists bear the designation high priority targets, which is hard to translate into German. Key targets have already been identified down to wing level. The pilots have orders to make continuous target studies on the targets assigned to them.

[Question] Nearly 10 years ago, in 1979, a document became known in which objects located on the territory of Western Europe were listed as targets slated for destruction. Of course, the attempt was made to deny the authenticity of this document. What do you know and think about that, Mr Mueller?

[Answer] As I said, the list I saw personally contained objects on the territory of the Federal Republic and of the East European countries. I assume that the list known to me and the document which you mentioned reflect the same intentions of NATO and of the United States.

[Question] Have there been any additional, newer NATO plans for the use of nuclear weapons since then?

[Answer] When I participated in the maneuvers of the NATO naval forces in early 1976 I arrived at the conclusion that in the meantime the concept of the use of nuclear weapons had been comprehensively specified during the annual NATO maneuvers.

[Question] Does the Bundeswehr have means of nuclear weapons delivery other than those already mentioned?

[Answer] As early as in 1978 the Bundeswehr had Pershing-1 missiles which can be equipped with nuclear warheads, apart from the means of delivery I already mentioned. As far as I know it is planned, besides, to use for this purpose also the combat planes of the Tornado type envisaged for introduction into the Bundeswehr.

[Question] Well, Mr Mueller, this was your everyday life in the Bundeswehr for many years, your NATO everyday life. From your own views and experiences you are familiar with methods and intentions of military circles of the United States and the FRG which do not even shrink back from manipulating their partners for the sake of covering up preparations for aggression by NATO and of representing new arms burdens to the peoples of Western Europe as inevitable for the preservation of peace, thus trying to make them palatable. After 20 long years of service you have made up a balance sheet and at the same time bluntly refuted the century's lie of a threat from the East. Thank you for having stated, and credibly proved, here on this program what the FRG television network neglects to tell its viewers, what media in NATO countries withhold from their viewers and readers, from their peoples.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON GDR AMNESTY POLICY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 15 Dec 79 p 1

[Article by FR correspondent Karl-Heinz Baum, dateline Berlin, 14 Dec 79: "None of the FRG Citizens Who Gave Assistance to Refugees Were Amnestied-- Time Period for Release Operation Agreed Upon by State Council Has Expired-- Over 12,000 Convicted GDR Citizens Were Set Free." For a West German analysis of the relationship between GDR amnesties and the penal system, see JPRS 74723, 6 Dec 79, No 174/ of this series, pp 60-62]

[Text] As far as has been ascertained to date, the amnesty proclaimed on 26 September by the GDR State Council did not include the release of those citizens from other countries who had been convicted in the GDR for helping people to escape--according to the GDR legal code "antigovernment trade with people." Out of 320 FRG citizens who had been sentenced before 7 October of this year and were incarcerated in the GDR, only 55 arrived in West Germany, least, that is the official number of those who were registered. In addition, one Austrian, one Dane, one Netherlander and two Frenchmen were released, according to information by the respective embassies these countries maintain in the GDR. On 21 November, the GDR attorney general announced that as many as 84 FRG citizens had been released.

When FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU editors questioned Peter Przybylski, government prosecutor in the GDR attorney general's office, on Thursday about this discrepancy, he declared: "Perhaps the others stayed here."

Essentially, the released persons had been convicted of crimes such as causing serious traffic accidents, theft, illegal crossing of the border or disregard for state and social symbols (i.e. damage to or ridicule of the state flag or the GDR symbol). Among those who to date have not been released is, for instance, Lutz Hildebrandt from Hannover, convicted during the Cottbus art theft trial; he has to serve a total of 5 years in prison for illegal possession of weapons, violation of security measures regarding radio communications and illegal crossing of the border.

The amnesty proclamation of the end of September "excluded persons who had been convicted of Nazi and war crimes and others, particularly violent crimes, or of military espionage." This passage had been precisely formulated

In "resolutions": "Particularly violent crimes such as murder, other violent acts and military espionage." Since, at this point in time, the proclamation has essentially been carried out--the period of time established by the GDR State Council will terminate on Friday--it is apparent that this category also includes convictions for "antistate trade with people (i.e. helping them to escape), as well as such crimes as illegal possession of weapons. In addition to approximately 250 FRG citizens (including West Berliners), seven Austrians are still in GDR prisons.

On 21 November the GDR attorney general announced that until that time 11,740 GDR citizens had been set free; among them, as is well-known, were also Rudolf Bahro and Niko Huebner. Since then quite a few additional imprisoned GDR citizens have been released; when questioned by the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU on Thursday, Government Prosecutor Przybylski could not give specific figures: "They are not yet available," was his statement to the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU.

With the exception of Bahro and Huebner, all of the GDR prisoners were released into the GDR, including those who had been convicted in connection with their activities involving applications for exit permits. According to statements from official circles in East Berlin, the fact that actions of "buying freedom" in the FRG were stopped is related to accusations by Western nations, for instance in the United Nations, that the GDR is conducting "trade with people."

8991

CSO: 2300

PHILOSOPHY CONGRESS MEETS, HEARS HAGER ADDRESS

SED Central Committee Greetings

LD221630 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT
21 Nov 79 LD

[Text] The fifth philosophy congress of the GDR began in Berlin on Wednesday morning. Over 900 philosophers, experts from other disciplines, members of leading state and economic bodies and foreign guests are taking part in the 3 days of consultations.

The theme of the congress is the dialectic of the historical process in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

On the 1st day, apart from the main report by the chairman of the GDR scientific council for Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Prof Dr Erich Hahn, several papers are being read before the plenum.

Cordially welcomed guests were Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. Also taking part in the meeting is Prof Dr Alwin Diemer, president of the international association of philosophical societies.

The chairman of the congress, Prof Kosing, read out the greetings message of the SED Central Committee which says in part: [Begin Kosing recording]

Our party highly appreciates the results of the work of the philosophers in research, teaching, education and propaganda. The Marxist-Leninist philosophers have made an important contribution to research into fundamental questions of the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the dissemination of dialectical materialism, the communist education of youth and the confrontation with imperialism and its ideology.

For this thanks and acknowledgement are due to them. We are certain that the philosophers of the GDR in close cooperation with other scientists, propagandists and social forces will continue to measure up to the requirements of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism, the tasks in

the continued fashioning of a developed socialist society in the GDR, and the growing interests and requirements of our people in the intellectual-cultural sphere. This calls for a high level and practical effectiveness of philosophical research, and education and training closely related to life, and a varied and convincing propaganda of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. In this spirit we wish the fifth philosophy congress of the GDR every success. With socialist greetings, Erich Honecker. [applause] [End recording]

Hager Addresses Congress

LD232118 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT
23 Nov 79 LD

[Excerpt] The fifth GDR philosophers' congress ended in Berlin today. The final session was again attended by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

In his winding-up speech Kurt Hager underlined the close relationship between philosophy and politics. The findings of the dialectics of the historical process in the present era give rise to "substantial conclusions for the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement, for the struggle of our party." The working class in alliance with the other working people under the leadership of its revolutionary party have proved over and over again to be the mainspring of historical progress. This had been clearly manifested also by the 30-year history of the socialist GDR. GDR philosophers had made a significant contribution in recent years to the elaboration of the theory of an advanced socialist society.

"Marxist-Leninist philosophy as the world-outlook theoretical foundation of a socialist peace policy, as a scientific instrument for the discovery of the causes of war and the arms race as well as the conditions and real possibilities of peace and disarmament fully lives up to the characteristic description of a 'philosophy of peace.'" Hence, among its major task was to help expose the essence and manifestations of imperialist war preparations.

"The maintenance of peace has become the most pressing problem of our time," Hager said. The peace policy of the socialist countries was based on the objective unity between socialism and peace emerging from the social ownership of the means of production. The fight for peace had today become "the fundamental phenomenon for the historical creativeness of the working class and the mass of the people, all progressive forces of mankind, because never before in history has peace and social progress been so closely interlinked as in our era." Hager analyzed the intensive world-wide ideological confrontation on fundamental issues of the present which was becoming sharper and increasingly complex.

Hager went on to say: "We are today on the threshold of a turning point in the scientific and technical revolution." The standard of scientific

development and the practical value of research depend on the extent to which it would be possible "to promote even further the fruitful cooperation between representatives of the natural, social and technical sciences." Marxist-Leninist philosophers, "In their systematic continuation of their successful theoretical work, must face up even better to the problems created by the real development of social life, by the politico-ideological class struggle."

CSO: 2300

HONECKER ADDRESSES MEETING OF ANTIFASCIST FIGHTERS

LD031830 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1245 GMT 3 Dec 79
LD

[Excerpts] Berlin--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, today received on Monday the delegation of the Central Executive of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters of the GDR, which had attended the first international meeting of former combatants and resistance fighters for disarmament in Rome.

Otto Funke, chairman of the Central Executive and head of the delegation, presented to Erich Honecker the "for peace through disarmament" message addressed to the peoples and governments in all countries which had been adopted by the international meeting.

Erich Honecker expressed his thanks for the message. The GDR concurred fully with the meeting's cause and the demands contained in the message. Since its foundation the GDR had been living up to the antifascist obligation to do everything to insure that never again will war break out on German territory.

Erich Honecker pointed out that today decisions of worldwide significance for peace and European security are being taken. In Europe, where the two most powerful military coalitions are confronting each other, measures of military detente were especially urgent. Leonid Brezhnev's proposals of 6 October of this year in Berlin demanded a constructive reply by the NATO powers. What the peoples needed were not new atomic missiles in Western Europe but steps toward disarmament. Thus, millions of GDR citizens had affirmed with their signature in the spirit of those proposals and of this message.

Erich Honecker said in his declaration: It is with sincere and profound thanks that I accept the "for peace through disarmament" message which the international meeting of former combatants and resistance fighters for disarmament in Rome has addressed to the heads of state. On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the

GDR people, I would ask you to convey these thanks to the representatives of the international meeting responsible and to assure them that we fully and totally support the humanistic content of the message.

The mere fact that for the first time a worldwide meeting of former combatants, war victims, resistance fighters, deportees, prisoners of war, as well as fighters in liberation and independence wars, has come about meets with the high esteem of all peace-loving and democratic people in the world. Among them are the citizens of our socialist state of workers and peasants, whose character and policy is impregnated with the lofty ideals and objectives of peace and antifascist liberation struggle of the peoples.

[LD031835] Six hundred representatives from four international and 135 national organizations from 54 countries have discussed the solution of the most urgent question for mankind: The consolidation of peace and international security. Across all differences in ideology, color, religion and social rank they arrived at identical views on this vital matter for mankind. They gave convincing and effective expression to the peoples' peace interests. To this we attach great political significance.

Peace through disarmament--that is indeed the main international issue of our time. The GDR, together with the Soviet Union and all other socialist fraternal states, resolutely supports the supplementation of political detente with military detente, which means arms limitation and disarmament. We are, just like the delegates to the great international meeting in Rome, of the opinion that a continuation, let alone an acceleration, of the arms race undermines detente, precipitating new tensions, new dangers for world peace. This must not be allowed to happen.

The initiative concerning arms limitation and disarmament announced by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin is filled with a deep sense of responsibility for the peaceful present and future of the peoples of Europe, nay of the whole planet. Your international meeting, too, showed the strong response which this significant step by the Soviet Union has found and how mobilizing its effect has been on the action of all those who are thinking reasonably and realistically, on all who want peace.

In view of NATO's intention to decide on the production of U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles and their deployment in Western Europe the determined defense of peace has become more urgent than ever. Such a decision by NATO threatens to accelerate the arms race, to undermine detente and cause international relations to deteriorate. In order to veil the truth, the arms proponents of NATO say that they intend first to arm and then to negotiate. However, every reasonable person must realize that this cannot lead to anything good. In order for detente to make further progress negotiations must be held now, substantive measures for disarmament taken.

Instead of hampering and possibly blocking the path towards positive results for peace through arming the object should be to leaving it open, to stabilize it, and enlarge on the results achieved so far. To negotiate in order

to disarm--that is proposed by the socialist countries to all peoples and states.

It would be timely if especially the FRG were to use the great opportunity offered by Leonid Brezhnev's peace initiative. It would be in the interest of peace and security on the European continent if the two German states were to contribute their share toward arms limitation and disarmament. The FRG must not assume the part of outrider for a new arms spiral in the nuclear sector. Detente takes precedence over arming. The two German states have the duty to see to it that never again will war break out on German soil.

As you know, dear comrades, dear friends, our socialist GDR always acts consistently and constructively in the spirit of peace. To this testify the over 13.1 million signatures with which the citizens in the GDR's declaration of intent affirmed their agreement with the Soviet initiative, with our policy.

After two imperialist world wars with all the suffering brought on the peoples, all the material destruction which they have caused, we must neither rest nor let up in order permanently to safeguard peace. It is the greatest good. That which we have rebuilt with hard work from ruins over three decades shall never again sink into debris and ashes.

By using all our power for the consolidation of peace we are following the teachings of history. We fulfill the legacy of those who in the anti-Hitler coalition, above all on its decisive front, fought for victory over fascism and the liberation of our people. And we thus realize the heritage of antifascist resistance. According to this our socialist GDR republic has acted since its foundation, and it continues to act in this way still today.

I would ask you to convey to the members of the world meeting the declaration of intent of the GDR. May all former combatants and resistance fighters know that in the struggle for disarmament and the noble objective of peace they will have in our socialist state in future and at all times a reliable ally.

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN STUDY: GDR LABOR CONDITIONS, CHARACTERISTICS, PROBLEMS

West Berlin DIW-VIERTELJAHRSSHEFT in German Vol 48 No 3, 1979 pp 233-248

[Article by Angela Scherzinger: "Economic Aspects of Industrial and Labor Sociology in the GDR."¹ Footnote 1 refers to use of terminology in title of article. For editorial reports on the two Vortmann articles referred to in footnote 115, see the following JPRS issues of this series: 72410, 12 Dec 78, No 1619, p 72; 74037, 17 Aug 79, No 1708, p 10]

[Text] Until the 1960's, the GDR rejected Western methods of empirical social research, considering them specifically bourgeois instruments of science. Sociology as an independent, recognized scientific discipline did not exist in the GDR. This situation did not change until 1963/64, when the leading economic and party organs realized that the previous methods and the conceptual framework of Marxist philosophy were no longer sufficient for understanding the differentiated social processes and changes. By this time, they too had become interested in developing--on the basis of empirical studies of concrete needs, motives and consciousness structures--more effective methods of controlling social processes. Due to its concrete utility in the work process, industrial sociology played from the outset a leading role within GDR sociology.

Industrial sociology is directly oriented toward the economic objectives, focal points and possibilities of industrial operations, i.e. toward increasing efficiency through full utilization of all productivity reserves. Accordingly, industrial sociology focuses on the study of potentially efficiency-boosting factors (e.g. a positive attitude toward work, the willingness to undergo training, to participate in the "socialist competition," and to work different shifts) or of potentially "disruptive factors" (e.g. job dissatisfaction, labor turnover, absenteeism, women leaving the work force). Beyond the mere recording of certain behavioral structures, the objective of all these studies is to point out ways of furthering desirable modes of behavior and preventing undesirable social phenomena.

However, from such an appraisal of GDR industrial sociology, one must not draw any conclusions as to actually existing behavioral structures in GDR society: Even though industrial sociology and sociological research in the

GDR have adopted the empirical-methodological approach of Western social research, it is often difficult for Western observers to evaluate the empirical results obtained; frequently, there is a lack of information concerning the polling methods and the type of statistical evaluation employed. In many instances, the sample data are not representative or there is only the brief statement: "Studies have shown that ...". Moreover, Dieter Voigt holds that in certain publications that are needed for supporting the ideology empirical methods are manipulated. But he also points out that studies prepared for the leading organs may be "relatively reliable; provided the findings do not run counter to the SED's political concept, these studies are published in the GDR's technical journals and other organs and as a rule are accepted in the West as well."²

Furthermore, as regards the choice of subject, the methodology and the findings, research work in the GDR is subject to political and ideological restrictions:

--Questions concerning the real sources of control in the enterprise are left out of consideration; the same goes for the study of concrete opportunities for codetermination.

--As a result of the link with Marxist-Leninist ideology, there is adherence to rigid principles, including the assumption that as compared to capitalism the nationalization of the means of production has resulted in qualitatively new working conditions free from alienation and that to a certain extent "socialist" attitudes toward work have already been formed (see also p). Social tension and intra-plant conflicts are not attributed to any basic or merely partial conflicts of interest.

In keeping with this approach, no analysis of the informal organization of operational structures has been undertaken in the last few years. So far, the rather rigid class concept has prevented a more differentiated breakdown of labor by social status or by status-related behavioral codes.³ Due to the Party spirit of sociology, results deviating from the established ideology are not published at all or only in ambiguous terms. However, for the leading party and economic organs, politically explosive--unpublished--empirical findings are a source of information which they use in order to obtain a realistic picture of the workers' motivation, attitudes and conduct on the job.⁴ Owing to the large number of publications on individual aspects--but also for reasons of topicality--the following account is for the most part restricted to the post-1970 period.

Attitudes Toward Work, Work Motivation and Job Satisfaction

In the GDR, the sociological study of attitudes toward work, work motivation and job satisfaction is determined by economic objectives; for it is here that one finds the reasons underlying zest for work, professional pride and job loyalty, and conversely, the reasons underlying undesirable phenomena (labor turnover, susceptibility to illness,⁵ absenteeism, slacking,

nonobservance of target dates, withholding of work reserves, "braking"). In addition, the fulfillment of professional expectations can have a positive effect on the willingness to engage in political and social activities; it can further the integration of the individual in the sociopolitical system and contribute to the individual's emotional well-being.

What is true in general of all studies on job satisfaction applies also to polls conducted by GDR sociologists: Potential "distortions in the respondents' satisfaction reactions"⁶ are not taken into consideration and all of the studies are subject to the "effect of disturbance variables." The most important of these factors are the following:⁷

--The social desirability of certain responses in polls ...

--The adjustment to 'reality.' Continuous frustration can give rise to a situation in which despite the fact that the individual concerned still has various needs, he or she has given up the hope of being able to satisfy them, i.e. he or she has resigned ...

--Distorted perception ... The individual concerned imagines bearing responsibility or being irreplaceable ...

--The significance of the job ... as a means of satisfying outside needs. Thus otherwise unsatisfactory working conditions are less frustrating, and the 'job satisfaction' increases ...

All of these mechanisms produce misleading empirical results. There is the danger that such results can be abused for the purpose of masking and thus perpetuating the situation."

There is yet another factor that reduces the value of the polling results:⁸ "It is the workers in particular who on account of their poorly developed linguistic faculty are dependent on orientation guidelines in the development of their self-image and perception of reality." For this reason, the conceptual drift and interpretative systems of the sociological polls are of special importance; in the GDR, due to the ideology-based value system, they tend to push the respondents in a certain direction. This makes it difficult to evaluate the results of GDR sociology; it is impossible to establish to what extent the attitude toward work and the work motivation are determined by "socialist" behavioral norms.

In particular, the following characteristics of a "socialist" /attitude toward work/ [words set off] are emphasized: "... a high degree of discipline and responsibility in the handling and augmentation of social funds; readiness to take responsibility in the plant ...; appreciation of new developments and creative intolerance of old, outdated elements; the capacity for creative activity, for systematic acquisition of new knowledge and its application to the situation at hand; the willingness to engage in collective creative activity, and a liking for puzzling ...,"⁹ all of which ideals

are very much in keeping with the traditional work ethic.

The /work motivation/ [words set off] of the workers in the socialist system is classified by Stollberg as follows:¹⁰ "The social motive (need for socially creative activity) ... The performance motive (need for self-affirmation) ... The contact motive (need for cooperation and communality) ... The financial motive (need for material security)."

Stollberg does not quantitatively weight the individual motives; but he claims a socialist personality to be characterized by the predominance of the social motive. Stollberg points out, however, that due to its special characteristics, the financial motive is "optically still in the foreground" and that it is a factor in intra-plant discussions as well: He states that 1) there is no "saturation point" in regard to the wage and bonus level; 2) "the pay is the most easily quantifiable factor that the worker considers in evaluating a job;" 3) "for the worker, the pay is the most tangible factor," and that dissatisfaction about the wages paid is often the mode of expressing dissatisfaction with a generally unsatisfactory job; 4) the pay is regarded as a status symbol. In support of his claim that even now the financial motive is no longer predominant, Stollberg cites a poll according to which only 11.6 percent of the industrial workers would stop working after winning a lottery cash prize assuring their livelihood.¹¹ Nevertheless, Stollberg concedes: "We cannot take for granted that the socialist character of work in our society will spontaneously and automatically give rise to socialist work motivation;" for this reason, he claims it is the duty of the plant's director "to make accessible to every single worker the experience of socialist social conditions ..."¹²

That "at present the aforementioned characteristics of a socialist work motivation have not yet developed in all workers in equal measure"¹³ is largely attributed by GDR sociologists to the nature of the jobs concerned. Thus it is considered to be necessary to create work "that makes greater and more varied demands on the qualifications and intellectual-creative faculties of the individual."

Similarly, according to the "Scientific Council for Sociological Research," a socialist attitude toward work is contingent upon the fulfillment of the following needs:

- For diversified, interesting and creative work;
- for independence and responsibility;
- for personal contacts within the collective and with the supervisor;
- for the application and development of knowledge and skills."¹⁴

As regards the incidence of socialist work motivation, it could be argued--and even some GDR sociologists hold this view--that the quoted figure of

one-third of all jobs, which "physically and emotionally are quite taxing" to the workers, but which "do not fully utilize their mental faculties," represents negative evidence in this respect.¹⁵

/Job satisfaction/ [words set off] "under socialist conditions" is defined by Stollberg as "part of the social well-being ... that presupposes a high level of education and training and which is characterized by the presence of conditions under which the maximum development of creative activity is ensured."¹⁶ Dissatisfaction with the job need not be regarded as negative (e.g. as a "result of adjustment difficulties, of excessive, but unjustified expectations"¹⁷), but also as an expression of a positive attitude toward work ("the result of progressive expectations that due to environmental conditions, e.g. the personality of the supervisor, are not being met"). According to Stollberg, a socialist attitude toward work also includes a "certain dissatisfaction and creative intolerance." Conversely, job satisfaction could also "be the result of indifference and lethargy."¹⁸

According to Stollberg, one must differentiate between three dimensions of job satisfaction: Satisfaction with the job, with the work environment, and with the work place (legal position under industrial law). Stollberg tries to establish a systematic representation showing the most important factors determining job satisfaction.¹⁹ He cites studies, according to which job satisfaction is influenced primarily by one factor--"opportunities for using the mental faculties"--or, defined more broadly, by the "opportunities for the use of qualifications, skills and knowledge,"²⁰ which is to say that all in all the worker is taxed neither too much nor too little. As for further important research results, Stollberg mentions the following factors: Good work organization, continuous production flow, material and conceptual performance stimulation.

Like the American sociologist Herzberg, Stollberg arrives at the conclusion that satisfaction results from the so-called intrinsic factors: Opportunities to work--free from interference--in accordance with one's own abilities, and to achieve results. According to Stollberg and Herzberg, extrinsic or environment-related factors--e.g. pay, relations with the colleagues--are necessary,²¹ but not in themselves sufficient preconditions for job satisfaction.

In view of the quite differentiated working conditions of the industrial workers, the results of GDR sociology must be considered to be quite sweeping. In this connection, Western authors doubt whether "there are at all any consciousness structures that are common to all workers."²² Through a detailed analysis of the complex work situation, they obtain much more differentiated results.

Comparing the FRG and the GDR in regard to job satisfaction, Messing draws attention above all to the following difference: "In the GDR, as a result of the employment guarantee, differences in regard to job satisfaction that are caused by differences in personal prospects are less pronounced. For

West German workers, the importance of job security as a factor in job satisfaction is bound to vary in accordance with changes in economic conditions. It is especially in times of crisis that the feeling of being indispensable to the enterprise greatly contributes to job satisfaction."²³

In Western industrial sociology, the development of Marx' concept of alienation (above all by Melvin Seemann and Robert Blauner)²⁴ gave rise to a critical trend in research and to a questioning of existing industrial-social structures. The ideological barriers established in the GDR (elimination of alienation through the nationalization of the means of production) have largely prevented similar attempts at elucidation of general industrial-social structures (specialization, division of labor, automation) in regard to their partly negative effects on the character of the work and the attitude toward it. Likewise, there are no attempts to determine whether the industrial workers really consider themselves the state-owning class or just wage-earners.

There are certain phenomena that appear to be indicative of dichotomous attitudes and thus of insufficient integration of the GDR workers in the political system, e.g. the offenses against "socialist property"²⁶ and the wasting of materials.

As regards the analysis of motivation structures, an important task is the development of means of control with the object of changing the workers' attitude toward work. Crucial elements are the "external" and the "internal" factors.²⁷ The principal external factors are: The nature of the work, working conditions and work organization, "supervisory activity," "relations within the collective," the shift system, training opportunities, material and conceptual stimulation. The internal factors include: "The degree of responsibility and conscientiousness at work," "the degree of work initiative," and "the workers' degree of discipline."

According to sociological studies undertaken in the GDR, conceptual stimuli have become increasingly important as performance incentives:²⁸ Thus two-thirds of the respondents did not think that awards should always be combined with bonuses.²⁹ The principal conceptual stimuli are praise and criticism and regular performance evaluations. However, it is not only by these positive sanctions, but also by negative sanctions that modes of conduct are to be influenced: "Criticism, reprimands, pay cuts on account of slacking, rulings by the Arbitration Commission, and court-imposed penalties."³⁰ In this respect, group-specific conditions are to be taken into consideration as well as the fact that the effect of the stimuli is bound to vary in accordance with the respective personality with its needs, attitudes, motives, interests, political and ideological views, abilities, characteristics and practical experience."³¹ Thus the researchers differentiate between "indirect and direct stimuli, collective-related stimuli and those directed at the individual, permanent and temporary stimuli, primary and secondary stimuli, stimuli within the work process and those without it."³² It is recommended that the following empirical results be taken into consideration:³³

The stimulation is to be based on concrete performance requirements, i.e. realistic parameters that can be modified by the workers; the form of the stimulation is to be approved by the collective; it is necessary to commend not only supreme achievements, but also relative progress. In addition, greater tribute is to be paid to "continuous work and readiness for service, ... not only to special accomplishments." Emphasis is placed on the following aspect: "However, the stimulation must not be oriented exclusively toward momentarily desired conduct in the work process; rather, it must aim to develop and strengthen stable and permanent socialist work motivation and conduct."³⁴

Labor Turnover

Since the establishment of GDR sociology, many articles and several monographs on the problem of labor turnover have been published,³⁵ since this is one of the crucial economic phenomena, in regard to which a sociological approach appears to be promising. Stollberg differentiates between several types of labor turnover:³⁶ 1. The unavoidable turnover (due to natural separations). 2. The socially necessary turnover (e.g. due to the assignment of workers to courses of study or to key enterprises). 3. The socially justifiable turnover (e.g. due to occupational advancement or the joining of families). 4. The socially unjustifiable or undesirable turnover ("quitting as a rash act, for trivial reasons, as a result of avoidable conflicts ..."). It is largely in this narrow sense of socially unjustifiable turnover that this term has in the last few years been used in sociological studies.³⁷ The economic losses resulting from labor turnover are frequently deplored.³⁸ As for particulars, there are the following figures: Average loss per one resignation: Twenty workdays³⁹ or costs of M 10,000;⁴⁰ 200,000 cases of "avoidable" turnover.⁴¹ It is claimed that additional losses result from the fact that workers intending to quit their job in order to work for another enterprise frequently go on sick leave before the switch. Such workers also show a higher incidence of slacking.

Crews of stable core workers are considered desirable on account of the following positive factors: Experience, skills, the utilization of plant-specific qualifications, and a great willingness to produce based on pride in the enterprise and on company loyalty of long standing. It is also pointed out that labor turnover has a negative effect on the remaining employees, since they fear they may lose certain benefits (above all high wages).⁴²

Members of the "Sociology" research team of the Dresden Central Institute for Labor Research attribute the workers' inclination toward frequent job changes to a subjective feeling, namely to the "contradictions between the workers' expectations and ideas concerning the working and living conditions in the enterprise and the actual conditions encountered. To the workers, leaving of one's own accord represents the solution to these contradictions."⁴³

Stollberg holds that due to the methodological difficulties and the complexity of the motives underlying the labor turnover, "crucial" or "significant" factors cannot unequivocally be determined. Moreover, differences in polling methods (e.g. official company questionnaires or interviews at the respondents' homes) lead to disparate results. Above all, this is due to the fact that it is only after the reasons have been stated in writing that a dismissal is legally valid. "Not infrequently, the reasons given in justification of the dismissal are not the true reasons. Reasons are found and stated that are 'advantageous,' that are based on certain operating conditions and thus are credible."⁴⁴ Thus reasons such as conflict with the supervisor are not mentioned, since the worker intending to give notice fears "that the underlying doubts could be cleared away in a discussion with the cadres."⁴⁵ To be sure, there is a breakdown of labor turnover in accordance with certain group-specific criteria (age, qualification, length of employment by the enterprise). According to GDR studies, the turnover rate is relatively high for:⁴⁶

- Workers with lower qualifications; they are oriented toward "material" working and social conditions;

- workers with low seniority (over 50 percent of all the workers who gave notice had been with the company for less than 1 year) and workers up to the age of 26;⁴⁷

- women; their demands in regard to intra-plant social services are higher;

- workers unwilling to solve intra-plant problems.⁴⁸

A great many papers focus on the study of factors that have a disruptive effect on the working conditions and that lead to labor turnover:

- Unsatisfactory cooperation within the collective, including arguments, envy and personal conflicts;

- administratively one-sided decisions in regard to production changes involving 'labor transfers'--decisions made without any regard for the ideas and opinions of the workers;

- an impersonal attitude on the part of the supervisor; no regard for the workers' job-related or private problems.

... There are other important factors, e.g. psychologically and pedagogically inept conduct on the part of supervisors, and insufficient tact and empathy."⁴⁹

There is no agreement among the sociologists as to the enterprises' concrete possibilities of curbing labor turnover. Members of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management proceed from the assumption that the causes of labor turnover "are essentially basic conditions that

can be controlled by management."⁵⁰

Since workers with low seniority are especially prone to quit their jobs, Stollberg recommends--as the "main point of attack" in curbing labor turnover--promoting company loyalty in newly hired employees.⁵¹ However, the measures suggested by Stollberg appear to be rather superficial (distribution of information on the economic importance of the enterprise, introductory lectures, integration in the work collective, discussion about the work and job-related problems, training courses for foremen in the field of personnel management). Proposals advanced by other authors include the following:⁵² Sponsorships are to help new colleagues in the adjustment process, facilitate fulfillment of the norms, and from the outset ensure full utilization of all possibilities of material and conceptual stimulation. Information on the company's social services is to be provided on a systematic basis.

In addition, Stollberg⁵³ calls for increased consultation with industrial sociologists so that enterprise-specific factors underlying labor turnover can be more accurately determined and taken into consideration (extension of statistical polls of workers intending to give notice).

Probing deeper, the "Sociology" research team of the Central Institute for Labor Research identified the conditions necessary for "developing and consolidating a core of stable employees":⁵⁴

1. "Work conducive to personality development."
2. Optimal work organization.
3. Improvement of the working conditions.
4. Establishment of a performance-related pay system.

In view of the various demands raised, it is safe to assume that one is dealing here with basic problems of GDR industry. It is questionable, however, whether the measures suggested--especially those listed in Category 1--are economically feasible at this time.

A few sociologists concede that not every job change is "morally reprehensible."⁵⁵ Generally speaking, a single job change--especially if it does not involve a career change--can give the individual concerned greater job satisfaction (e.g. due to reduced commuting time, assumption of management functions, elimination of underutilization or work overload on the job). However, the strength of the worker's ties to the trade learned is generally considered an essential criterion of a "socialist work ethic."⁵⁶ To what extent the reduction of labor turnover (in industry, by 42 percent from 1965 to 1977; in the construction sector, by 39 percent)⁵⁷ can be attributed to the application of sociological findings will not be considered here. Among the inhibiting factors mentioned in regard to the application of

sociological analyses of industrial labor turnover to individual enterprises are the following:⁵⁸ "Naturally, test results do not always confirm the supervisors' views on the same problem." For this reason--claim the sociologists--a great deal of self-criticism is necessary for a correct assessment of management work; they point out that there is insufficient familiarity with the methods employed in empirical social research.

Competition, Collective Work and Innovator Movement

Through the development of the "innovator movement," "socialist competition" and "socialist collective work," the economic leadership has obtained instruments that are intended to tap the experience, skills and expertise of the workers and work teams and to intensify the overall zest for work. Moreover, the various forms of motivation incentives are to trigger socialization and learning processes conducive to the development of a "socialist" attitude toward work.

Some critical remarks would seem to be in order here: Participation in these movements frequently does not result from a specific internal decision indicative of "socialist" traits. For many workers are not even asked by the company whether or not they want to participate: The competition goals are imposed from on high and it is difficult for the workers to escape the social pressure exerted.

As regards an efficient organization of /socialist competition/ [words set off], there are concrete instructions; Stollberg mentions the following points:⁵⁹

"... Thorough and timely information of the workers concerning the tasks to be accomplished ... A concrete delineation of duties ... Clear arrangement of the competition ... For this reason, competition between individuals or between brigades is more effective than competition between combines, industrial sectors, regions, etc. ... Measurability and comparability of the performances ... Leveling tendencies in regard to the material and conceptual recognition of competition results can best be overcome through a more accurate assessment of the personal commitment." Stollberg's demands and criticism clearly show that GDR sociologists, too, are fully aware of the problems in connection with competition weariness and competition ritualism.

As regards /socialist collective work/ [words set off], the improvements in the attitude toward work are evidenced above all by the "high degree of identification of the members with this collective" ..., by the "mutual helpfulness" ... and by the "continuous integration of the collective's members in the work process."⁶⁰ Quite interesting in this connection is the ideology-related defensive reaction against similar forms of cooperation in Western industrial enterprises: To differentiate between socialist collective work and team work, reference is made to the development of the personality through collective work (e.g. training toward considerateness and tolerance), to the social significance of the work objective, to the

integration of workers, and to the incorporation of collective work in the "socialist democracy" in the enterprise.

As for the /innovator movement/ [words set off], it is above all the following personality-forming benefits that are emphasized:⁶¹ The endeavor to improve the professional qualifications, the utilization of the intellectual faculties, the creative elements, the development of collectivist attitudes and conduct (solidarity, sense of responsibility, discipline).

On the one hand, in regard to all of the activation movements mentioned, there is proud reference to positive results (e.g. increase in the percentage of innovators of the total number of gainfully employed persons from 13 to 32 percent during the period from 1965 to 1977);⁶² on the other hand, sociological studies are to disclose the reasons why a large number of workers still resist mobilization. According to one study,⁶³ the reasons can be ranked as follows:

- "1. The workers did not see any possibilities of improvement.
2. Due to the work, they have no time left for reflection.
3. The workers lack the self-confidence necessary for making suggestions, even though they see ways of improving things.

One is struck by the fact that despite all the information in regard to plan objectives and rationalization projects, nearly two-thirds of the workers who are not active as innovators do not see any possibilities of improvement."

On the basis of their knowledge of the motivation structures, the industrial sociologists have developed guidelines for the managers and technical directors. Among their suggestions are the following: "They must have sufficient expertise to guide the 'puzzler' toward the important problems and to point out to the 'ambitious worker' ways of attaining recognition and success through a well-thought out innovator proposal."⁶⁴

Likewise of great importance are sociological results⁶⁵ that show that as the intellectual demands rise and the physical stress declines, participation in the innovator movement increases and that such participation is also bound up with the level of qualification. As a focal point of departure for the expansion of the innovator movement, it is suggested to mobilize the skilled workers whose participation rate (39 percent) is clearly below that of the foremen (64 percent) and that of the technical school graduates (60 percent).

Some of the sociological studies are intended to support certain ideological dogmas, e.g. the leading role of the working class,⁶⁶ "the development of scientific creativity into a socialist mass phenomenon,"⁶⁷ the continuous overcoming of the differences between physical and intellectual work

in the innovator movement or the development of "collective-forming" qualities through the socialist collective work.

Shift Work⁶⁸

Multishift work is an essential precondition for the full utilization of machines and equipment. By 1977, as many as 14.3 percent of the workers employed in centrally controlled industry worked under the two-shift system, and 28.3 percent, under the three-shift system (night work).⁶⁹ Officially, multishift work is considered in the GDR to be economically necessary for increasing labor productivity⁷⁰ and is not subject to critical examination. It is not conceded that the discrepancy between the economic necessities (primacy of "intensification") and the concern about the physical and psychological well-being of the working individual may be indicative of the irreconcilability of the objectives. Moreover: An expansion of multishift work in the next few years is considered likely.⁷¹

Nevertheless, industrial physicians and ergonomists do concede that multishift work can have a taxing and injurious effect (e.g. increased incidence of gastrointestinal and nervous disorders).⁷² The persistent disturbances of the physiological biorhythm, the sleep deficit, the deterioration of sleep quality, the loss of appetite, the frequent irritability and the reduced efficiency are undisputed in international research.⁷³ However, established ergonomic and medical facts⁷⁴ are played down in the GDR. For example, Karl Hecht states:⁷⁵ "Aversion to and fear of shift work can have a certain effect on the shift workers' health." Or: "Those workers who oppose shift work and regard it as stressful showed a higher incidence of nervous disorders than did those who regarded shift work as an ordinary matter." For this reason, Hecht considers it necessary "to develop positive attitudes and convictions in regard to shift work." The report of a scientific conference held at the Berlin Humboldt University (16/17 June 1977) contains the following statement: "Although multishift work produces a number of negative attendant symptoms, it would basically be wrong to say that multishift work has a general effect on the shift worker's way of life."⁷⁶ Thus it is generally believed that the harmful effects of shift work can be mitigated by compensatory sociopolitical, industrial and communal measures.

The following shift work complexes were examined in detail:⁷⁷

The Effect of Shift Work on Family Life and Child Care

Due to the differences in the work rhythm, the family members are free at different times, especially if the two marital partners work different shifts (in order to ensure continuous supervision of the children) and, in addition, work under the "rolling week" system (i.e. if the free weekend is included in the shift change).⁷⁸ It is claimed that such a situation entails the risk of "estrangement between the marital partners, resulting in their living side by side instead of together" and that on account of the night work-related sleep deficit and the physical stress, multishift workers

suffer from mood swings; that the mothers thus "often do not have the energy necessary to take care of the children and to get to know their problems;"⁷⁹ that the scholastic achievements of children of multishift workers are frequently below average.⁸⁰ According to sociological studies, the effect of shift work on the division of labor within the family varies:⁸¹ In some cases, shift work leads to a better distribution of tasks within the family, with the children assuming a greater share of domestic responsibilities; "on the other hand, however, there are families in which due to the general life style the effects of shift work are intensified," with the wife in particular being weighed down by domestic work. This is shown as well by the following research results: Whereas the female shift worker does on average 72.8 percent of the housework--without any assistance by the family members--this share drops to 66.2 percent for female workers not engaged in multishift work.⁸²

On account of these problems, female shift workers often try to get back to the normal shift or to work part time or temporarily to stop working.⁸³

The way Stollberg plays down the difficulties in regard to child care is remarkable: "At the same time, however, one should bear in mind that Makarenko once said that the raising of children does not require a lot of time; rather, it calls for sensible utilization of the little time available. In this connection, Makarenko adds: 'The educational process is continuous; it continues even when you (addressed are the parents, R.S.) are not at home. The essence of education lies not in the direct influence exerted on the child, but in the structuring of your family, of your personal life and of the social life of your children.' Thus it is very important that shift worker families efficiently use for the children's education the time available ..."⁸⁴

The following measures are recommended as being especially helpful in child care:⁸⁵ Child care facilities providing 24-hour service; shifting most of the facilities to the mothers' place of residence, in order to relieve the mothers of having to take along their children when commuting during the rush hour (which would be necessary, if the children were cared for at intra-plant facilities) and to enable the mothers to be in daily contact with their infants, irrespective of the shift rhythm; improving the quality of the school day-care centers; special assistance in their school work to children of shift workers.

If both parents are shift workers, an appropriate coordination of the shift schedules is recommended, in order to increase the amount of leisure time they can spend together.⁸⁶

A dissertation published in 1977⁸⁷ views somewhat more critically the problems encountered by women as a result of multishift work: Multishift by mothers "is one of the causes underlying the decline in the birthrate, as a result of which there has emerged the trend toward the one-child family. Multishift work by mothers necessitates special solutions in regard to

child care. These solutions then reduce the society's overall productive capacity, if other women are needed to take care of the children. Infants are often entrusted to pedagogically controversial and economically costly creches ... Bringing the living standard of large families up to that of childless families must be one of our sociopolitical objectives. This calls for a change in our ideas concerning the socialist performance principle and for recognition of the achievements in connection with childbirth, child care and education as integral parts of the performance principle." In conclusion, the author predicts that multishift work by women of child-bearing age "will not significantly increase and may even decline."

Effects of Shift Work on the Intellectual-Cultural Sphere

It is very difficult for multishift workers to cultivate interpersonal relations with individuals not working the same shift. The following finding is worth mentioning: "Apparently, multishift workers have a greater need for rest and passive recreation during their free time on workdays. Thus there is the danger that a certain 'frugality' may develop during the time between their days off, which could possibly lead to a onesided interest structure."⁸⁸ Multishift workers prefer leisure time activities that can be pursued on an irregular basis and that are not restricted by time-related considerations. They neglect cultural and sporting activities as well as activities in the field of continuing education. In this connection, the following measures are recommended:⁸⁹ Coordination of certain cultural events with the shift schedules; improvement of public transportation; establishment of hobby centers with extended business hours; improvement of neighborhood recreational facilities.

The Effect of Multishift Work on Attitudes Toward Qualification

Multishift workers did not prove to be less willing to undergo training.⁹⁰ However, the stress caused by multishift work necessitates special support measures. The measures recommended, some of which have already been taken, include the following:⁹¹ Establishment of special training courses for shift workers; consideration for the working capacity of multishift workers; coordination of the training courses with the shift schedules; temporary exemption from work for training purposes; improvement of public transportation; establishment of the "subjective conditions and preconditions in the industrial training process."

The study of attitudes toward multishift work is intended to help develop strategies aimed at recruiting additional workers for shift work. The willingness to do shift work is contingent upon the assessment of stress factors and compensatory factors (extended vacation, shift work allowance, company retirement system, etc.). The recommended strategy for the recruitment of workers for shift work involves a number of intra- and extra-plant measures as well as efforts toward ideological persuasion.

Generally speaking, one can say that GDR industrial sociologists underestimate the social and physical stress and disadvantages caused by shift work;

this is because the adaptability of the individual and the compensatory possibilities offered by state and company measures are overrated. The basic conflict produced by shift work between the economic demands and the concern about family and health is played down. Thus shift workers are practically expected to reduce their personal demands and to accept an overall reduction in their standard of living in favor of the performance requirements of the production sector.⁹²

Qualification

From 1962 to 1975, the share of skilled workers and foremen of the socialist economy's labor force increased from 34 to 53 percent. At the same time, the share of unskilled and semiskilled workers decreased from 60 to 33 percent.⁹³ In the next few years, the share of workers with incomplete vocational training will be declining still further, since "of the young people who in 1975 joined the labor force, 10 percent were university graduates; technical school graduates accounted for approximately 12 percent; skilled workers and foremen, for approximately 63 percent, and only 15 percent had not completed their vocational training."⁹⁴

Since it will never be possible totally to bring into line the qualification structure and the continuously changing production technology, there will always be jobs that are filled by under- or overqualified workers. To be sure, on account of the "advanced training" necessary for technological progress, a certain degree of overqualification is accepted. However, "the difference between the level of qualification and the work requirements is not to exceed certain limits."⁹⁵ It is considered to be especially contradictory that "the high level of general education and vocational training (especially among young people) and the growing motivation toward creative activities ... clash with the low qualification level of a great many jobs and sometimes with an increasing trend toward monotonous work in some automated enterprises."⁹⁶

In skilled workers employed in jobs matching their qualifications, one generally encounters a relatively positive attitude toward work (in comparison with unskilled or semiskilled workers⁹⁷) and also greater willingness to participate in intra-plant activities. It was shown⁹⁸ that in comparison with unskilled or semiskilled workers, skilled workers showed greater understanding for the need for qualification (this applies above all to the group comprising workers between the ages of 26 and 30). As regards the motives underlying participation in qualification measures, the following are the most important:⁹⁹ The hope to obtain a higher income, to get a more interesting job, to be able to achieve better results, and the prospect of participating in the solution of research and development problems.

The managers and technical directors of the enterprises are expected to develop--on the basis of their familiarity with the workers' individual motives and personal circumstances--appropriate strategies for persuading the employees--to the extent that this is necessary--to undergo training. In this connection, they are cautioned against "blindly trying to raise the

level of qualification ... without regard for the concrete conditions of the work concerned ... This would create a conflict between the abilities of the individual and his or her work, which could lead to a decline in the workers' job satisfaction and willingness to produce."¹⁰⁰

Great importance is attributed to "task- and project-related" qualification,¹⁰¹ i.e. the transmission of practice-related knowledge, the establishment of links with current technological-economic projects in the production sector, the training for difficult production conditions (breakdowns, etc.) so as to meet the future requirements of the production sector.

However, it was found that the technological advances have not produced the anticipated high demand for highly qualified workers: According to empirical studies (that were conducted in selected industrial sectors and that are statistically not representative), in fully automated production plants "30 to 40 percent of the production workers can still be employed in a semi-skilled capacity. Above all, this applies to the onesided and simple operating tasks that, technologically speaking, cannot be incorporated into the automation process, at least not in the near future."¹⁰² On the basis of these facts, these authors advance the "polarization theory" (or, to use their own term, "differentiation trend"), according to which any increase in the levels of qualification in one field is balanced by a corresponding qualification deficiency in another field.

Experts on the economics of vocational training established that "nearly 25 percent of the skilled workers are employed in jobs below their level of qualification."¹⁰³ As a point of reference for the Federal Republic, one should mention here a representative poll conducted in 1970: Of the polled workers with full vocational training, 47 percent were skilled workers, while unskilled and semiskilled workers accounted for 19 percent (the remainder is made up of white-collar workers, civil servants and self-employed individuals).¹⁰⁴

Certain GDR sociologists--who are oriented toward manpower requirements--consider both the obvious overqualification and the qualification inconsistent with the requirements of the job market an "unused training fund of M 14.5 billion" (in relation to the figure of 25 percent). On the other hand, an expert on vocational training such as Artur Meier emphasizes that economics must not have a "criterion monopoly" and that the "noninstrumental character of education" must not be neglected: "But this excess education is at best a kind of excess qualification."¹⁰⁶

Problems of Working Women in Industry

Studies in the field of industrial sociology differentiate between women and men, since even if the work and the working conditions are identical, there are problems specific to women. These problems result from the special physiological, familial, psychological and legal conditions encountered in the employment of women. It is especially in a country such as the GDR that

the sex-specific aspect of industrial sociology must not be neglected; of all countries, the GDR (along with the USSR) has the highest share of working women. In 1977, 82 percent of all women (including apprentices) capable of gainful employment held a job.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the GDR's economic leaders are intent on further exploiting the work potential of women by incorporating nonworking women into the work process and by inducing women holding part-time jobs to work full time.

The high employment rate for women is all the more striking--and this makes it very problematic--since it has not spelled any significant relief for women in regard to their traditional family responsibilities. In spite of the fact that equality for women has been propagated--and in part implemented--the poorly developed division of labor within the family¹⁰⁸ (i.e. the insufficient participation of the husbands in housework and child care) indicate that ~~the~~¹⁰⁹ traditional roles are not yet a thing of the past. And this is conceded:

"The most deeply ingrained traditions concern the familial sphere and the division of the domestic responsibilities. Since this process is a very slow one, it is more difficult for the mothers than for the other women to exercise their equal rights ... [The policy in support of women] ... entails many contradictory measures. Time-saving factors (reductions in working time, household days) help the women to implement their equality more rapidly; at the same time, however, these factors can perpetuate the old sex-role concepts in the family."

As regards the time expended on housework, precise figures are available for a four-member household: The women do 80 percent of the housework. Women working full time spend 30.8 hours per week on housework; women working 6 hours per day spend 40.2 hours, and housewives not holding an outside job, 51.5 hours.¹¹⁰ The as yet insufficient supply of time-saving home appliances and of repair and general services is certainly an important factor in this regard; the same goes for the relatively great amount of time spent on shopping for necessities (standing in line, supply shortages). It is emphasized that as her educational level rises, the woman becomes more interested "in reducing her share of the housework and in meeting her own needs, inclinations and interests."¹¹¹

The increased susceptibility to illness is symptomatic of the overload carried by women. Thus in comparison with single women and women without children, married women and women with children show a higher incidence of "fatigue and subjective, functional disorders;"¹¹² in the case of female unskilled workers, the picture is even more serious on account of the heavy physical labor involved.

As regards the way the women cope with their double or triple burden, the data are consistent: According to one study, 60 percent of the women polled in a random test did not regard their outside work to be incompatible with their family life.¹¹³ Similar results were obtained by another study,

according to which 40 percent of the respondents "felt heavily or very heavily taxed by their commitment to vocational and familial duties."¹¹⁴ The fact that the procreative attitude of the women changed after the introduction of the "baby year" in the GDR indicates that many women want to escape--at least for 1 year--the triple burden posed by child care, household and job (career).¹¹⁵

However, it is largely in regard to that period during which the children must be cared for and educated that GDR women are primarily oriented toward the family. According to a poll,¹¹⁶ only 6 percent of the women intend to stop working, when their children are grown and gainfully employed and "when they have acquired all the things they had wanted." According to the same study, only 3 percent of the husbands are against their wives holding an outside job.

In an analysis prepared in 1976, no unequivocal data or weightings are given for the "additional income for the family" motive. This analysis refers to the equal weight of material and conceptual motives ("in order to contribute to the economic development in our state")¹¹⁷, without providing any exact empirical evidence.

The occupational breakdown for women in the GDR shows the persistence of sex- and role-specific differentiation. Women are overrepresented in the trade and service sectors.

Even today, the distribution of female university and technical school graduates is still characterized by the sex-specific drift toward nontechnical jobs: Only 16 percent of all female university graduates work in industry and in the construction sector (1977), whereas 30 percent of the male graduates work in these sectors.¹¹⁸ Nearly 75 percent of all female technical school graduates work in the following sectors: Trade, education, health and social services, and general services.¹¹⁹

As regards the industrial sector, it is pointed out that as compared with the work of their male colleagues, the work of female skilled workers consists more frequently of "monotonous, onesided and intellectually undemanding tasks ... (such as deburring, drilling or grinding)." Moreover, the industrial wage group structure shows that "in the lower wage groups the work is for the most part done by women."¹²⁰ Another sociologist states that the "ratio between monotonous and creative work or between simple and complex work (in regard to qualification, supervision and responsibility in the work process) ... corresponds to a certain extent to the sex-specific division within the national economy."¹²¹

So far, the qualification level of women is below that of men. Whereas in 1975 77 of 100 gainfully employed men had completed their vocational training, only 57 of the women had done so.¹²² In this respect, however, one must take into consideration that the qualification level in the younger age groups (up to the age of 35) has come close to that of the men and that the

difference will be diminishing still further.

A breakdown by university and technical school graduates shows the following trend: From 1971 to 1976, the share of women of the total number of gainfully employed university graduates in the socialist economy (excluding agriculture) increased from 28 to 33 percent, while the share of female technical school graduates increased from 39 to 54 percent.¹²³ Moreover, from 1971 to 1975 the share of female skilled workers of the total number of gainfully employed women in the socialist economy increased from 37 to 46 percent.¹²⁴

Questions regarding the qualification of women are of importance for industrial sociology as well: According to GDR sociologists,¹²⁵ a high qualification level among women implies greater job satisfaction and zest for work (to the extent that a higher qualification level entails more interesting and diversified work). In addition, qualification has a positive effect on the willingness to undergo further training, on the women's interests, both in the enterprise and in the family,¹²⁶ and on their political activities.

It is to the above-mentioned factors--the familial strain, the generally lower level of qualification, but also the fact that women have fewer opportunities for advancement¹²⁷ and that they hold fewer responsible posts in the enterprise--that the high percentage of female part-time workers in the GDR is attributed. At present, one-third of all women do not work full time. According to GDR calculations of 1973, part-time employment represents an untapped reserve of 300,000 full-time workers.¹²⁸

Studies have shown that part-time workers produce relatively better results during their shorter working hours than do full-time workers. In the GDR, it is recognized that women working approximately 6 hours a day frequently overfulfill their norm.¹²⁹ However, the negative aspects of part-time work seem to predominate in the assessment: The same study points out that part-time work results in considerable problems for the enterprise concerned; these problems can be summarized as follows:

- Discontinuous production flow;
- insufficient identification of the part-time workers with the enterprise and in consequence of this, insufficient willingness to engage in social intra-plant activities or to undergo further training;
- fewer possibilities of entrusting part-time workers with supervisory duties.

Attempts are being made--through persistent persuasion¹³⁰ and through the improvement of working conditions--to win those workers over to full-time work who are not held back by social factors. In their research or in their practical work, the industrial sociologists are expected to disclose through

thorough motivation analyses the inhibiting factors in the women's self-image and in their attitude towards their job and to point out ways of reducing opposition to full-time work.

In the last few years, however, the labor policy has no longer been quite as rigid: It is conceded that the temporary discontinuation of outside work for the purpose of caring for infants could be regarded as an "expression of the women's sense of responsibility vis-a-vis the family."¹³¹ It is also pointed out that through certain sociopolitical measures (such as the introduction of the "baby year") optimal use could be made of the female work potential: "By exempting the mothers from work for 1 year after childbirth, better preconditions are created for the preservation of their health and working capacity, for the long-term protection of their personality development and for the healthy development of the children."¹³² Similar intentions underly other support measures such as the working time reduction for women with more than three children and the extension of the annual vacation.

In the GDR, the traditional ideal of material security through marriage and of leading a full life through the family role alone is largely considered an outdated concept. "In many respects, a nonworking woman is not a modern woman ... In an environment in which everyone works or in some way is socially active, a nonworking woman can easily feel superfluous and isolated."^{133,134} This is not to say that in the GDR many families do not need the mother's income for the fulfillment of wants going beyond the necessities. Critically, one should point out that the emancipation of women is subordinated to the dominant economic performance criteria (according to which the equality of woman is for the most part manifested in women taking a job) and that the problem of equality thus is narrowed considerably.

FOOTNOTES

1. Since the terminological definition is not consistent, the brief term industrial sociology is used in the following.
2. See Dieter Voigt, "Sociology and Empirical Social Research," in: Arbeitskreis fuer vergleichende Deutschlandforschung unter Vorsitz von Peter Ludz [Study Group for Comparative Research on Germany Under the Chairmanship of Peter Ludz], "Gutachten zum Stand der DDR- und vergleichenden Deutschlandforschung" [Status Report on Research Concerning the GDR and on the Comparative Research on Germany], March 1978, pp 320 and 321.
3. In contrast to this, Braunreuther has in 1965 stated the most important concern of industrial sociology to be the study of informal groups and of the social position, function and role of the individual in the enterprise. See Kurt Braunreuther, "The Sociological Organization Analysis as a Present-Day Task of Industrial Research," in:

Guenther Bohring and Kurt Braunreuther, eds., "Soziologie und Praxis" [Sociology and Practice], East Berlin, 1965, pp 13 ff.

4. Dieter Voigt differentiates between three levels of empirical social research in the GDR: 1. For the highest leadership level. 2. For the middle and lower leadership level. 3. For agitation and propaganda. Dieter Voigt, "Montagearbeiter in der DDR. Eine empirische Untersuchung ueber Industrie- und Bauarbeiter in den volkseigenen Grossbetrieben" [Assembly Workers in the GDR. An Empirical Study of Industrial and Construction Workers in State-Owned Large-Scale Enterprises], Darmstadt, 1973, p 11.
5. See "Socialist Working Conditions and Health," PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, Supplement, 25 Sep 73, pp 1 ff.
Fritz Roesel, "Morbidity and Working Conditions," DIE WIRTSCHAFT, No 3, 1978, p 25.
6. See Friedrich Fuerstenberg, "Einfuehrung in die Arbeitssoziologie" [Introduction to Industrial Sociology], Darmstadt, 1977, p 29.
7. See Peter Groskurth, "On the Systems Analysis of the 'New Forms of Work Organization,'" in: Peter Groskurth and Walter Volpert, "Lohnarbeitspsychologie" [Wage Work Psychology], Frankfurt/Main, 1975, pp 252-253.
8. See Horst Kern and Michael Schumann, "Industriearbeit und Arbeiterbewusstsein. Eine empirische Untersuchung ueber den Einfluss der aktuellen technischen Entwicklung auf die industrielle Arbeit und das Arbeiterbewusstsein" [Industrial Labor and Working Class Consciousness. An Empirical Study of the Effect of the Current Technological Development on Industrial Labor and Working Class Consciousness], Frankfurt/Main, 1977, p 306.
9. See "Scientific-Technological Progress and Sociological Research. Report on the Session of the Academic Council for Sociological Research of 28 October 1977," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DDR, No 1, 1978, p 42.
10. See Rudhard Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie" [Industrial Sociology], East Berlin, 1978, pp 78 ff.
11. Ibid., pp 85-86. Such results cannot be regarded as evidence of a typically "socialist" work motivation. For a poll conducted in the FRG produced similar results: Only 11.3 percent of the foremen intended to stop working after winning a lottery cash prize of DM 500,000. See Manfred Messing, "Arbeitszufriedenheit im Systemvergleich. Eine empirische Untersuchung an Bau- und Montagearbeitern in beiden Teilen Deutschlands" [Work Satisfaction as Observed in Different Systems. An Empirical Study of Construction and Assembly Workers in Both Parts of Germany], Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, Mainz, 1978, p 129.

12. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 90.
13. Rudhard Stollberg, "Sociological Problems Concerning Motivation and Stimulation of the Workers' Socialist Attitude Toward Work," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE (Martin-Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg), No 25, 1976, p 43.
14. See "Wissenschaftlich-Technischer Fortschritt und soziologische Forschung," op. cit., p 39.
15. See "Sociological Problems Concerning Motivation ...," op. cit., p 41.
16. See Rudhard Stollberg, "Work Satisfaction--Theoretical and Practical Problems," in: Wissenschaftlicher Rat fuer Soziologische Forschung der DDR [Academic Council for GDR Sociological Research], ed., "Soziologie" [Sociology], East Berlin, 1968, p 90.
17. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 157.
18. Ibid., pp 154 ff.
19. Ibid., pp 168-169. Besides Stollberg, other sociologists as well attempted to systematize the factors determining work satisfaction. See Kurt Dücke, "What Are the Factors Generating Work Satisfaction?" ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 16, 1972, pp 497 ff.; in this connection, p 502. The differentiation between three groups of factors is likewise analytically helpful: "Environmental conditions" (including nature of the work), "value orientations of the individual" and the "sociodemographic situation," i.e. differentiation by age, sex, qualification, family situation (e.g. requirements of a working woman with children in regard to working time and company services), living conditions, financial situation, social and other leisure-time activities, commuting time. (See "Sociological Problems Concerning Motivation ...," op. cit., pp 186 ff.)
20. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 171.
21. See Eberhard Ulich, Peter Groskurth and Agnes Bruggemann, "Formen der Arbeitsgestaltung" [Forms of Work Organization], Frankfurt/Main, 1973, p 97. See also the detailed description of Herzberg's approach, in: Agnes Bruggemann, Peter Groskurth and Eberhard Ulich, "Job Satisfaction," SCHRIFTEN ZUR ARBEITSPSYCHOLOGIE, No 17, 1975, pp 33 ff.
22. See Kern, Schumann, "Industriearbeit und Arbeiterbewusstsein," op. cit., p 308.
23. Manfred Messing, "Arbeitszufriedenheit im Systemvergleich," op. cit., p 132.

24. See Robert Blauner, "Alienation and Freedom," Chicago, London, 1964. Melvin Seemann, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, 1959, pp 783-791. Melvin Seemann, "Alienation and Engagement," in: A. Campbell and P.E. Converse, eds., "The Human Meaning of Social Change," New York, 1972, pp 505 ff. See also the paragraph on "alienation" as a concept of the social sciences, in: Pater Christian Ludz, "Ideologiebegriff und marxistische Theorie. Ansätze zu einer immanenten Kritik" [The Concept of Ideology and Marxist Theory. An Attempt at Immanent Criticism], Opladen, 1976, pp 50 ff.
25. By a dichotomous view of society on the part of the workers, Western industrial sociologists mean the workers' concept of a society divided into a "top" part and a "bottom" part. "We, the workers, belong to the bottom part and cannot escape it." (See Heinrich Popitz et al., "Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters" [The Worker's View of Society], Tuebingen, 1957, p 201.
26. See Arnold Freiburg, "On Juvenile Delinquency in the GDR," *KOELNER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIOLOGIE UND SOZIALPSYCHOLOGIE*, No 3, 1975, pp 489 ff.; in this connection, p 511. See in the same issue Walter Jaide, "Job Satisfaction of Young People in the GDR and in the Federal Republic of Germany," pp 434 ff.
27. See Arndt Ullmann, "Some Problems Concerning the Measurement of Work Attitudes," *SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT*, No 2, 1975, pp 130 ff.
28. See Detlev Herter, "Sociological Problems Concerning the Development of a Socialist Attitude Toward Work," *SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT*, No 2, 1975, pp 148 ff.
29. Lutz Raunischke, "Sociological Problems Concerning Work Motivation," *ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT*, No 17, 1975, pp 519 ff.
30. See "Sociological Problems Concerning Motivation ...," *op. cit.*, p 95.
31. Third Conference on Industrial Sociology, "Sociological Problems Concerning Motivation and Stimulation of the Workers' Socialist Attitude Toward Work," *SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT*, No 4, 1976, pp 294 ff.; in this connection, p 296.
32. *Ibid.* See also Frank Graetz and Dieter Voigt, "The Effect of Material Incentives on Social-Structural Changes in the Course of the Scientific-Technological Revolution," *DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV* (Special Issue), 1976, pp 119 ff.
33. Third Conference on Industrial Sociology, *op. cit.*, pp 296 ff.

34. See Kurt Dücke, "Effective Stimulation of the Workers' Attitude Toward Work," *ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT*, No 20, 1976, pp 627 ff.; in this connection, p 629.
35. For the period up to 1970, see Dieter Voigt, "Labor Turnover as a Research Subject in the GDR," *DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV*, No 11, 1970, pp 1207 ff.
36. See Rudhard Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," *op. cit.*, pp 184-185.
37. Similarly, according to the Definitions of Planning, Accounting and Statistics (East Berlin, 1973, Part 5, pp V-16), labor turnover includes any resignation of workers which "occurs for personal or disciplinary reasons (dismissal) and which from an economic or operational point of view would not be necessary." Not included in labor turnover are: "Natural separations (disability, retirement, death), socially necessary resignation (studies, People's Police, National People's Army, planned transfer, layoffs due to structural changes in the enterprise, etc.)."
38. See individual calculations concerning the losses capable of economic evaluation:
Hanna Grabley and Gerhard Voelker, "Possibilities of Assessing the Economic Effects of Labor Turnover," *SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT*, No 5, 1975, pp 542 ff.
Bernd Hoene, "Labor Turnover Causes Considerable Working Time Losses," *ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT*, No 1, 1976, pp 11 ff.
39. See Gerd Pietrzynski und Wilfried Preller, "The Labor Turnover Can Be Further Reduced," *DIE WIRTSCHAFT*, No 10, 1978, p 16.
According to a different calculation made in the Leuna Works, each "instance of preventable labor turnover" results in an average working time loss of 6 to 8 weeks and a financial loss totaling M 6,000 to 7,000. (See Hans-Guenther Wiegler, "More Products Through Improved Utilization of the Workers' Working Capacity," *ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT*, No 5, 1977, pp 145 ff.; in this connection, p 146.)
40. Horst Nietz, "Scientific Work Organization and Efficient Utilization of the Working Capacity," *WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HOCHSCHULE FUER OEKONOMIE*, No 2, 1976, pp 45 ff.; in this connection, p 50.
41. *Ibid.*, p 50. As far as the FRG is concerned, it is impossible to determine any figures comparable to the concept of labor turnover as used in the GDR. It is known, however, that there are 5 to 6 million engagements and dismissals/resignations annually in the labor market. (Bundesanstalt fuer Arbeit [Federal Labor Institute], ed., "Ueberlegungen II zu einer vorausschauenden Arbeitsmarktpolitik" [Considerations II Regarding a Long-Range Labor Policy], Nuernberg, 1978, p 114.

42. Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 183.
43. Arndt Ullmann, Martin Roemer, and Willy Schlemmer, "Current Problems of Marxist-Leninist Industrial Sociology," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DDR, No 4, 1977, p 41.
44. Arwed Ecknig, "Determine the True Causes of Labor Turnover," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 21, 1974, pp 641 ff.; in this connection, p 642.
45. Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 189.
46. See Gerd Pietrzynski and Wilfried Preller, "Working With Labor Turnover Analyses," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 3, 1975, pp 75 ff.; in this connection, pp 76-77.
Stollberg, op. cit., p 191.
Similarly, Jutta Bastian, Siegfried Grunz and Wolfig. Mueller, "Problems Concerning the Control of Labor Turnover in the Labor Offices," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 3, 1973, pp 190 ff.; in this connection, pp 192-193.
47. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 191.
48. See Pietrzynski and Preller, "Working With Labor Turnover Analyses," op. cit., p 76.
49. Arwed Ecknig, "Determine the True Causes ...," op. cit., p 642.
Similarly, Christa Ecke and Sonja Kroenke, "Turnover Problems From the Point of View of the Planning and Control of Social Processes," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 3, 1975, pp 225 ff.; in this connection, p 226.
50. See Pietrzynski and Preller, "Working With Labor Turnover Analyses," op. cit., p 76: "Sociological studies have discovered disruptive and bonding factors in regard to the job and the enterprise. The principal bonding factors are: The nature of the work (responsible, interesting, varied, creative work), performance-related pay, the level of supervisory work, the level of relations within the collective and the level of working and living conditions. This list clearly shows: Essentially, these are basic conditions capable of control by the management. If they are viewed and organized as a whole, it will be possible markedly to reduce labor turnover."
51. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., pp 193 ff.; and Heinz Ronneberg, "Resignation Plans and Company Loyalty of Young Workers--A Contradiction?" ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 5, 1978, pp 221 ff.; in this connection, p 222.
52. See Pietrzynski and Preller, "The Labor Turnover Can Be Further Reduced," op. cit.

53. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 197.
54. See "Current Problems ...," op. cit., pp 41 ff.
55. Heinz Ronneberg, "Resignation Plans ...," op. cit., p 224.
56. Kurt Dücke, "Occupational Loyalty and Professional Pride in Socialism," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 24, 1971, pp 737 ff.; in this connection, p 737. "The socialist society is interested in promoting--at the work place and in professional life in general--stable modes of conduct imbued with socialist consciousness, for the workers' active participation in the work process and in the work collective is largely realized via their jobs."
57. See DIE WIRTSCHAFT, No 10, 1978, p 16.
58. See Ecke, Kroemke, "Turnover Problems From the Point of View ...," op. cit., p 227.
59. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., pp 120-122.
60. Ibid., p 190.
61. Ibid., p 126.
62. See "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR" [GDR Statistical Yearbook], East Berlin, 1978, p 103. The actual number of real innovators is probably far below the official data. Horst Jetzschmann names one of the reasons for this: "Problems Concerning the Development of Democratic Activity in Socialist Enterprises," in: "Aktivitaet--Schoepfertum--Leitung und Planung" [Activity--Creativity--Management and Planning], East Berlin, 1975, p 20. "According to analyses, a great many supervisors are still very arbitrary and subjective in regard to the implementation of the new innovator decree. In the attempt to register the maximum number of production workers as innovators, fellow brigade members of innovators are sometimes included, even though they did not participate in the formulation of the proposals concerned. In some instances, innovator agreements were concluded--in violation of the legal regulations--with collectives numbering 100 or more employees. It is obvious that in such large collectives the majority of the members cannot produce--nor can they be expected to produce--any genuine creative achievements under such conditions." Likewise, criticism has been voiced in regard to the fact that certain activities that are part of the normal work projects are illegally compensated as innovator achievements. (See TRIBUENE, No 96, 1979, p 2--Supplement.)
63. See Arndt Ullmann, "Some Sociological Aspects and Study Results Concerning Socialist Rationalization and Innovator Activity," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 6, 1973, pp 434 ff.; in this connection, p 440.

64. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 131.
65. See Manfred Loetsch, "On the Social Structure of the Working Class. Some Key Issues and Problems of Sociological Research," in: "Sociologische Probleme der Klassenentwicklung in der DDR" [Sociological Problems Concerning Class Development in the GDR], East Berlin, 1975, pp 89 ff.; in this connection, pp 103, 104 and 109.
66. See Joachim Hemmerling, "Working Class--Innovator Movement," EINHEIT, No 1, 1972, pp 5 ff.
67. See Juergen Graeschke, "Innovator Activity as a Mark of the Scientific-Technological Creativity of the Working Class in Socialism," in: "Aktivitaet--Schoepfertum ...," op. cit., pp 96 ff.; in this connection, p 100.
68. On this subject, see Juergen Strassburger, "Economic and Social Problems of Shift Work," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Special Issue on the occasion of the 11th Conference on the State of GDR Research in the Federal Republic, 16-19 May 1978, pp 71 ff.
69. See "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR," East Berlin, 1978, p 124. In 1975, 17.2 percent of all gainfully employed persons in the Federal Republic did shift work, and 11.6 percent, night work. (See "Shift Work in the Federal Republic of Germany. Sociological Review of the Present Status of Research, Statistical Trends and Practical Recommendations," Bericht ueber ein Forschungsvorhaben im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums fuer Arbeit und Sozialordnung [Report on a Research Project Authorized by the Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs], Bonn, 1978, p 2. These figures cannot be compared with those of the GDR, since for the Federal Republic there is no breakdown by two- or three-shift systems and since the figures refer to the total number of gainfully employed persons.
70. According to GDR calculations, in 1974 average utilization of machines and equipment amounted to approximately 10 hours, and utilization of highly productive machines, to 14.2 hours (1976: 14.6 hours). (See PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, 18 Nov 75, p 9, and 11 Jul 78, p 10.)
71. See Gerhard Rosenkranz, "Mehrschichtarbeit. Zu einigen Problemen bei der Vorbereitung der Werktaetigen auf die Mehrschichtarbeit" [Multishift Work. On Some Problems in Connection With the Preparation of the Workers for Multishift Work], East Berlin, 1975, pp 76-78.
72. Karl Hecht, "Do Three-Shift Workers Age More Rapidly?" ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 10, 1977, p 308.

73. Generally, one can say that the nervous stress of night work is a result of the fact that the working individual is forced to tolerate a phase displacement vis-a-vis the circadian rhythm of his or her organ systems. This phase displacement persists for the duration of the entire night shift period, since contrary to previous views ... there is no inversion of the diurnal rhythm of physiological functions. This results from the fact that the timers crucial for man--time consciousness and social contacts--cannot be phase-displaced during night work." (See Joseph Rutenfranz, "Problems of Shift Work," Report at the Symposium of the Covonel Laboratory, University of Amsterdam, 27/28 September 1973. Quoted from: "Shift Work in the Federal Republic of Germany ...," op. cit., p 118.) Rutenfranz, in an article he coauthored with Peter Knauth--"Rhythm Physiology and Shift Work," SCHICHT- UND NACHTARBEIT. MITTEILUNGEN DES INSTITUTS FUER GESELLSCHAFTSPOLITIK, Vienna, No 20, 1976, p 7--states: "I feel that from the point of view of medical labor protection the transition to continuous shift work is permissible only if it is urgently required by the production processes. However, the introduction of continuous production for reasons of profitability must always be opposed for reasons pertaining to industrial medicine."
74. See Manfred Haider's review of the literature on this subject in: "Schicht- und Nachtarbeit," op. cit., pp 60 ff.
75. See Karl Hecht, "Do Three-Shift Workers Age More Rapidly?" Op. cit., p 308.
76. See "Industrial Work and the Socialist Way of Living," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DDR, No 5, 1977, p 30.
77. See Rudhard Stollberg, ed., "Schichtarbeit in soziologischer Sicht" [Shift Work From a Sociological Point of View], East Berlin, 1974. A new publication, which was not taken into consideration, does not contain any basically new results: Martin Jugel, Barbara Spangenberg and Rudhard Stollberg, "Schichtarbeit und Lebensweise" [Shift Work and Way of Life], East Berlin, 1978.
78. See M. Jugel, "The Effect of Shift Work on the Socialist Family," in: "Schichtarbeit in soziologischer Sicht," op. cit., pp 101 ff.
79. B. Spangenberg, "The Effect of Shift Work on the Socialist Education of Children," in: "Schichtarbeit in soziologischer Sicht," op. cit., pp 95 ff.; in this connection, p 99.
80. See ibid., p 97, and Rudhard Stollberg, "On the Effect of Shift Work on the Workers' Family Life," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 3, 1977, pp 210 ff.; in this connection, p 213. Stollberg quotes here a study by M. Jugel and B. Spangenberg: "Scholastic Achievements and Conduct of Shift Worker

Children," INFORMATIONEN DES WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN BEIRATS--"Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Woman in the Socialist Society]--No 2, 1975.

81. See Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 218.
82. Stollberg, "On the Effect of Shift Work ...," op. cit., p 212.
83. R. Sauerzapf, "On Some Problems in Connection With Shift Work by Women in Enterprises in the Chemical Industry," in: "Schichtarbeit in soziologischer Sicht," op. cit., pp 90 ff.; in this connection, p 92.
84. Stollberg, "On the Effect of Shift Work ...," op. cit., p 213.
85. Sauerzapf, "On Some Problems ...," op. cit., pp 92 ff.
86. See "Industrial Work and Way of Life," op. cit., p 33.
87. Bernhard Schneemann, "Sociological Aspects of the Personality Development of Women With Regard to the Full Implementation of Their Equal Rights and to Their Participation in the Multishift System," Dissertation, Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig, 1977. The theses are reprinted in: INFORMATIONEN DES WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN BEIRATS--"Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft"--No 6, 1977; published by the Academic Advisory Council [Wissenschaftlicher Beirat] of the GDR Academy of Sciences, pp 31 ff.; in this connection, pp 42 ff.
88. See I. Walter, "Problems Concerning Intellectual-Cultural Life Under the Conditions of Shift Work," in: "Schichtarbeit in soziologischer Sicht," op. cit., pp 34 ff.; in this connection, p 35.
89. Ibid., pp 36 ff.
90. See K. Stange and R. Hesse, "The Effect of Multishift Work on the Workers' Attitude Toward Qualification," in: "Schichtarbeit in soziologischer Sicht," op. cit., pp 52 ff.; in this connection, p 60.
91. Ibid., pp 54 ff.
92. For the Federal Republic as well, a catalog of recommended measures for the support of shift workers has been drawn up. See "Shift Work in the Federal Republic of Germany," op. cit., pp 176 ff. See also "Labor Office Study on the Problems and Consequences of Shift Work," PRESSE-MITTEILUNGEN DER SPD, Fall 1978. A special study on the effects of multishift work on vocational training in the GDR has been presented by Manfred Schweres: "Vocational Training in Multishift Work--The Road Toward the Well-Rounded Personality?" DEUTSCHE BERUFS- UND FACHSCHULE, No 1, 1978, pp 45 ff.

93. Sources: PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, 27 Jul 76, p 5; for 1962: "Zur Reproduktion des Qualifikationsniveaus der Werktaetigen und der Bildungsfonds" [On the Reproduction of the Workers' Qualification Level and of the Education Fund], East Berlin, 1973, p 27 (quoted from: Gert-Joachim Glaessner and Irmhild Rudolph, "Macht durch Wissen" [Power Through Knowledge], Opladen, 1978, p 61.
94. See the Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress, Speaker Erich Honecker; quoted from: Klaus Korn and Harry Maier, eds., "Oekonomie und Bildung im Sozialismus" [Economics and Education in Socialism], East Berlin, 1977, p 131. See also: Doris Cornelsen, "Education and Training in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the GDR--Planning, Development and Financing," Gutachten im Auftrag des Bundesministers fuer Bildung und Wissenschaft [Report Authorized by the Federal Minister for Education and Science] (unpublished).
95. R. Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 145.
96. See Artur Meier, "The School and the Dialectics of the Social Structure in the Socialist Society," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 10, 1975, p 1338.
97. R. Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 136.
98. See Ingrid Hoelzler, "What Determines the Motives Underlying Qualification?" ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 18, 1973, pp 551 ff.
99. Ibid., p 553.
100. R. Stollberg, "Arbeitssoziologie," op. cit., p 142.
101. See Herbert Metzner, "Scientific Labor Organization and Task- and Project-Related Qualification," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 16, 1973, pp 477 ff.; in this connection, p 479. Peter Seifert and Rolf Stephan, "On the Obtainment of Qualification Certificates for Better Production Performance. First Results of a New Form of Task- and Project-Related Qualification," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 4, 1979, pp 169 ff.
102. See Eva-Maria Langen, Reinhard Schaefer, and Juergen Wahse, "The Effect of Mechanization and Automation on the Qualification of the Workers," FORSCHUNGSBERICHTE (published by the Central Institute for Economics of the GDR Academy of Sciences), No 25, 1978, p 9.
103. See "Oekonomie und Bildung ...," op. cit., p 38.
104. Hans Hofbauer, "Intra-Plant Vocational Training and Its Utilization in the Labor Market," GEWERKSCHAFTLICHE BILDUNGSPOLITIK, No 1, 1975, pp 4 ff.

105. See "Oekonomie und Bildung ...," op. cit., p 38.
106. See Artur Meier, "Education as a Value Orientation of Socialist Personalities," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE, No 7, 1978, pp 841 ff.; in this connection, p 850.
107. According to GDR statistics, this total comprises females between the ages of 15 and 60 exclusive, including 5/12 of the age group from 14 up to 15.
108. See "More Leisure Time for the Working Mother," MARKTFORSCHUNG, No 1, 1973, pp 13 ff.
109. See B. Schneemann, "Sociological Aspects ...," op. cit., p 35.
110. See INFORMATIONEN DES WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN BEIRATS--"Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft"--No 6, 1977, p 13.
111. Ibid., p 29.
112. See Liselotte Hinze, Annemarie Rauer and Anneliese Saelzler, "Gainful Employment, Family and Health," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 8, 1975, pp 578 ff.; in this connection, pp 580 ff.
113. Ingrid Hoelzler, "Motives Impelling Women to Seek Gainful Employment," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 20, 1976, pp 620 ff.
114. Barbara Welskopf, "Conditions Concerning the Continuous Gainful Employment of Women," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, No 4, 1977, pp 107 ff.
115. See Heinz Vortmann, "Increase in the GDR Birthrate--Consequence of the 'Baby Year,'" VIERTELJAHRSSHEFT ZUR WIRTSCHAFTSFORSCHUNG DES DIW, No 3, 1978, pp 210 ff; and by the same author "Continuing High Birthrate in the GDR," DIW-WOCHENBERICHT, No 30, 1979, pp 315 ff.
116. Barbara Welskopf, "Conditions ...," op. cit., p 109.
117. Ingrid Hoelzler, "Motives ...," op. cit., p 621.
118. See "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR," 1978, p 98.
119. See Hans-Juergen Gericke, "Socioeconomic Problems Concerning a Work Organization Involving Men and Women," INFORMATIONEN DES WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN BEIRATS--"Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft"--No 6, 1977, pp 3 ff.; in this connection, p 11.

120. Utta Giessner, "Requirements Concerning the Further Development of the Position of Women in the Production Process With Special Regard for the Improvement and Protection of the Qualification Level of Female Skilled Workers," INFORMATIONEN DES WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN BEIRATS--"Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft"--pp 3 ff.; in this connection, p 11.
121. Hans-Juergen Gericke, "Socioeconomic Problems ...," op. cit., p 9.
122. Calculations according to the GDR Statistical Yearbook, 1976, pp 51 ff. and according to the PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, 27 Jul 76, pp 5 ff.
123. See "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR," 1978, p 294.
124. See calculations according to PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, 27 Jul 76, p 5, and according to the GDR Statistical Yearbook, 1976, pp 51 ff.
125. See Utta Giessner, "Requirements ...," op. cit., pp 10-11.
126. In regard to the effect of the qualification of women on their situation in the family, Utta Giessner states (op. cit., p 12): "Qualification reduces the woman's economic dependence on the man and marriage thus loses the status of a 'material security institution' in the sense of a material privilege of the man. In addition, qualification enables the woman to develop her abilities and talents on the professional and sociopolitical levels ... Studies on the performance of school children showed that low achievement was encountered most frequently in children whose mothers had no vocational skills. In addition, these studies showed again and again that the mother's high professional performance or her endeavor to obtain qualification represent a positive model for the child."
127. Bernhard Schneemann, "Sociological Aspects," op. cit., p 35.
128. See DIE WIRTSCHAFT, No 28, 1973, p 8.
129. "Industrial Work and Way of Life," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DDR, No 5, 1977, p 55.
130. See Helga Ulbricht, "Gainful Employment of Women in Connection With the Requirements Concerning the Efficient Utilization of the Social Working Capacity," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 8, 1975, pp 569 ff.; in this connection, p 577.
131. B. Welskopf, "Conditions ...," op. cit., p 108.
132. See Brigitte Preusche, "Special Features of the Optimal Utilization of the Working Capacity of Women," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, No 1, 1978, pp 56 ff.; in this connection, p 57.

133. See Jutta Menschick and Evelyn Leopold, "Gretchens rote Schwestern, Frauen in der DDR" [Gretchen's Red Sisters--Women in the GDR], Frankfurt/Main, 1974, p 115. See also Maria Elisabeth Ruban, "Problems Concerning Women's Labor in the GDR," DIW-WOCHENBERICHT, No 50, 1972. Gisela Helwig, "Frau '75" [Woman '75], Cologne, 1975 (especially the section on women and gainful employment, pp 68-96). Helge Pross, "Gleichberechtigung im Beruf? Exkurs: DDR und UdSSR" [Equality on the Job? Appendix: GDR and USSR], Frankfurt/Main, 1973, pp 173 ff.
134. Upon completion of the manuscript, an omnibus volume on this topic was published: Herta Kuhrig and Wulfram Speigner, eds., "Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Frau in der DDR" [On the Social Position of Women in the GDR], Leipzig, 1978 (published by the Academic Advisory Council [Wissenschaftlicher Beirat] of the GDR Academy of Sciences). This volume does not essentially go beyond the empirical research results that are taken into account by the literature cited in this chapter.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

SPANISH CP DELEGATION--Berlin--Hermann Axen, member of the SED Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received a study delegation of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] headed by Ambrosio San Sebastian, member of the PCE Central Committee, for a friendly talk. During its stay in the GDR at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, the Spanish delegation had acquainted itself with party work in industry, agriculture and education. The two sides stressed the extraordinary importance of the disarmament and peace initiatives of the USSR and the other states of the socialist community and stressed the need for intensified actions of all peace forces in favor of military detente. They affirmed their readiness to deepen relations between the SED and the PCE on the basis of the document of the Berlin conference of European communist and workers parties. [Text] [LD301840 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 30 Nov 79 LD]

NORWEGIAN CP DELEGATION--Berlin--Horst Dohlus, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on Friday received a study delegation of the Norwegian Communist Party [NKP] led by Nirger Nervik, member of the NKP Central Committee. During its stay in the GDR at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, the Norwegian delegation acquainted itself with the SED's party work. In the course of the talk the representatives of the NKP gave an account of their struggle in defense of the interests of their country's working class. Both sides emphasized the extraordinary importance of the disarmament and peace initiatives of the USSR and the other states of the socialist community and stressed the need for intensified actions of all peace forces in favor of military detente. [Text] [LD301842 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 30 Nov 79 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO AFGHANISTAN--Hafizollah Amin, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Afghan Democratic Party and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, received Kraft Bumbel, GDR ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, for the presentation of his credentials. [AU012130 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

MINISTER VISITS MADAGASCAR--Didier Ratsiraka, president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, received on Monday [26 November] in Antananarive Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister of university and technical school matters, for friendly talks, in the course of which President Ratsiraka underscored the agreement of the positions of both states in the struggle for the implementation of peace and detente. "Didier Ratsiraka particularly supported the latest Soviet disarmament proposals. Both politicians reaffirmed the readiness of their states to further support the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against imperialism, neocolonialism, racialism and apartheid." [AU012130 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

SWISS CHURCH OFFICIALS--Klaus Gysi, GDR state secretary for church affairs, on Tuesday [27 November] received Dr Walter Sigrist, outgoing president of the Swiss Evangelical Church Federation, and his successor, Jean Pierre Jornod, for a friendly talk during which both sides paid tribute to the constructive ecumenical relations between their churches. The Swiss guests emphasized the important contribution to detente furnished by the churches' work for peace, disarmament and security. [AU012130 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

PARTY COLLEGE SYMPOSIUM--A scientific symposium under the heading "The role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the political organization of the socialist society" started on Wednesday [14 November] at the SED Central Committee party college "Karl Marx" in Berlin, comprising about 80 social scientists from the Soviet Union and the GDR as well as tested party functionaries who were welcomed by Hanna Wolf, SED Central Committee member and director of the party university. [AU181950 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

VIETNAMESE DELEGATION'S VISIT--A delegation of the Vietnam Patriotic Front conducted cordial talks with members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the National Council of the GDR National Front in Berlin on Wednesday [21 November]. Also attending was Ambassador Huang Tu. The guests acquainted themselves with the 30-year development of the GDR and with the experiences in political and ideological work of the National Front. The significance of the Soviet peace initiative has stressed in the conversation. The delegation members gave an overview of the development of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam and explained its tasks. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

GDR DELEGATION TO LAOS--On Wednesday [21 November] a delegation of the National Council of the GDR National Front concluded a one-week visit to the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The delegation led by National Council Vice President Werner Kirchhoff was received during its visit by Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and chairman of the Central Committee of the Lao Front of National Reconstruction. The delegation had cordial meetings with the country's working people in Luang Prabang Province and in the capital, Vientiane. The GDR delegation

visited the Pakpasak technical vocational school which was equipped from solidarity funds of GDR craftsmen's enterprises. At the conclusion of the comradely exchange of ideas between the delegations of the National Council and of the Central Committee of the Lao Front of National Construction a joint working agreement was signed effective until 1981. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

GDR-NORWEGIAN COOPERATION--A work plan for cooperation between the GDR and Norway in the fields of culture, education and science for the years 1980-81 was concluded on Wednesday [21 November]. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 79 p 4 AU]

FRG DELEGATION'S VISIT--A delegation of the Federal Executive of the FRG Young Democrats which visited the GDR from 12 to 16 November 1979 at the invitation of the FDJ Central Council has informed itself about the mastery of scientific-technical progress in the socialist society and the development of the creative abilities of youth. The delegation was led by Ruediger Pieper, deputy chairman of the Federal Executive of the Young Democrats. In a winding-up talk with Gunter Rettner, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Rueder Pieper stated that the Young Democrats will endorse the constructive disarmament steps and will demand that the FRG Government abandon its controversial attitude toward the Soviet peace proposals. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

FILIPINO-GDR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY--A society of the friends of the GDR in the Philippines was founded in Manila on 4 December to cultivate friendly relations between the Philippines and the GDR. Filipino conductor Redentor Romero was elected president and Heinz Sachse, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade and Prof Dr Kurt Huber, vice president of the GDR-Southeast Asian friendship society, attended the founding session as guests from the GDR. [AU092035 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Dec 79 p 5 AU]

CUBAN MILITARY ATTACHE'S RECEPTION--Navy Capt Otto Peterssen Lynn, military naval and air attache of the Republic of Cuba in the GDR, gave a cocktail party in Berlin on Wednesday [5 December] on the 23d anniversary of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. The invitation was accepted by GDR Deputy Ministers of National Defense Col Gen Wolfgang Reinhold and Lt Gen Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten; Maj Gen Karl-Heinz Drews, city commander of the GDR capital of Berlin; as well as by other generals and officers of the National People's Army. Present were Army Gen Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander in chief of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, as well as other generals and officers of the Soviet Army. Military attaches accredited to the GDR also attended. [Text] [AU092035 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Dec 79 p 8 AU]

NEW EDUCATIONAL DECREES--Berlin--The GDR Council of Ministers has adopted and put into effect a "Decree on Guaranteeing a Stable System at Polytechnic Secondary Schools--School Regulations." The revised form of school regulations takes into account the greater demands made on the politico-pedagogical and organizational work of schools. It is designed to insure an orderly, systematic and smooth functioning of the schools and to raise further the level of teaching. The decree regulates the direction of the school by its director with the comprehensive cooperation of teachers and educators, parents and all social forces involved in education and defines the duties and rights of the pupils. Other provisions refer to educational planning and training. A "Decree on the Duties and Rights of Teachers and Educators in Education and Vocational Training--Work Regulations for Teaching Staffs" and a "Decree on the Responsibility and Tasks for the Conduct of Vocational Training" have also come into force. [Text] [LD271206 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0314 GMT 27 Dec 79 LD]

CSO: 2300

ACADEMICIAN INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Nov 79 p 5

[Interview with Bela Kopeczi, academician, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by Denes Kovacs: "Sociology and Practice." Place and date not given.]

[Text] The role of science and the ever-increasing practical application of scientific results have gained a world-wide importance in our age and this also means that we are expecting more and more from science. This also applies to the social sciences, for socio-economic progress around the world--including the socialist countries as well--is facing problems whose solution is not possible without the aid of the social sciences. And as sociology cannot always meet this demand, there is a certain impatience toward the scientists. These were the questions discussed with Bela Kopeczi, academician, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, president of the Sociological Coordination Committee which is connected with the government's Scientific Political Committee.

[Question] What is your opinion about these stepped-up expectations, or often impatience, toward sociology.

[Answer] First of all, I wish to emphasize that these expectations are not characteristics of the socialist world. In the economically developed countries of the 1950's and 1960's, the possibilities primarily of economics, sociology and psychology were optimistically assessed with regard to resolving the contradictions between economy, society and the individual. But since the second half of the 1960's, as a result of an intensification of these contradictions, an increasingly dark pessimism has taken over. The first report of the Club of Rome about "the limits of growth" was, perhaps, the first summarizing manifestation of this change.

As far as the socialist countries are concerned, the world-wide, or so-called global problems, are, of course, our concerns as well. Think of the supply of energy and raw materials or the problems of environmental protection which must be faced also by Marxist social sciences. There are, however, problems related to the building of socialism as well, which

give unique tasks for research. For socialism, unlike capitalism, infers the conscious leading of society, including economic, social and cultural planning and thus makes the utilization of the results of sociological research indispensable.

It is true, of course, that Marxism-Leninism discovered the general tendencies of social development and that its ideology and its methods can still be applied, but it is also true that the classics could not foresee the developmental characteristics of our age and, within that, the problems related to the practical realization of socialism.

But not only theoretical questions but also those closer to practice are awaiting answers from the social sciences. However, economic science declared with justification that economic incentives must be given an important role in increasing production and improving the working morale. But such measures yielded only partial results. What could be the reason for this? Is it that we do not apply the economic incentives in the right way, or is it that moral factors were pushed too much into the background? It is evident that there is a need for a thorough examination--with the aid of the different branches of science--to make a suitable diagnosis and to make it possible for the social leadership to make decisions based on science.

In our society, therefore, sociological research is even more important than in capitalist countries and this is what primarily justifies the stepped-up expectations.

[Question] The reproach is often heard that research does not serve social practice directly enough. And many scientists say that practice is not leaning enough on science.

[Answer] Sociology cannot yield the exactness represented by some branches of the natural sciences or the concrete results of their research. Let us take an example. After long experiments in their laboratories, chemists make a new compound which will be used, after the necessary controls and testing, by a pharmacological plant to make new medicines. Thus the chemist sees the practical realization of the results of his research, and that in a relatively short time.

In the social sciences, however, the object of research is the examination of social aspects. But these aspects are tendencies that take a long time to unfold through the often contradictory actions of people representing various intentions and interests. The laws are recognizable but, let us add, the factors examined are unrecognizable and it is impossible to experiment with them. Marx writes, "We can use neither a microscope nor chemical testing compounds to analyze social forms. The capacity for abstraction must be substituted for both." This capacity for abstraction is, however, connected with the individual, and the outlook of the scientist, among other things, is determined by the value system he accepts.

Thus if we want to answer the question, what sociology can do, our answer must be formulated only by considering these problems and characteristics. This is not a skeptical answer, for many results of sociology influenced practice, and it is not an illusionary answer either, for it is not based on the belief that research is capable of yielding ready-made recipes.

[Question] Let us discuss now the questions in whose solutions the social sciences may be instrumental. It follows from the above that the tasks and functions of social sciences include the description of individual social processes and the discovery of reality.

[Answer] The discovery of reality means that our objective is a factual and critical description of economy, society and culture by discovering both the contradictions and the difficulties. The discovery of reality also includes, of course, the description of the great social processes and thus it directly summons us to examine the future's perspectives. Economic science, for instance, took an active part in those days in the preparation of the reform of the economic mechanism and in exploring the situation, it pointed to the results and contradictions as well which emerged in the system of planning and in its effects. This description of the situation stimulated proposals for solutions in whose realization we had to reckon, of course, not only with economic but also with social and political factors. It was the political leadership that made the selections from the proposals but it is without any doubt that the decisions were significantly influenced by an appraisal of the tendencies.

Since then, several other branches of the social sciences also conducted research of this kind. I will mention those middle-range research programs among them which were completed recently and which were centered, among other things, on the pace of social growth, on the relationship between world economy and Hungarian economy, on the changes in social structure, the way of life and social consciousness, and on the various aspects of socialist democracy. I am referring in this context to the results of the research made on social structure. It is well known that the old social strata are vanishing in our country and that the classes have come closer to one another. At the same time, it is also a fact that the composition of the different classes has changed and that certain strata developed within the classes. The description of these phenomena made it possible and sometimes necessary to draw some very important conclusions in all branches of social activity. The majority of the well-documented findings prove that the scientists not only welcomed the so-called social assignment but were also able to describe more or less precisely the tendencies of reality.

[Question] The tasks of the social sciences cannot, of course, be limited to the disclosure of the situation, for these branches of science are very closely connected with ideology. Would you please explain how the function of ideology manifests itself in present-day research?

[Answer] I must mention first that the separation of the function of disclosing reality and that of ideology is arbitrary, for the disclosure of

reality itself mirrors a certain outlook and is oriented toward a kind of determined action. In order to develop the theory, it is necessary for the social sciences and, above all, for philosophy, history and economics, to deal with the basic questions of social development and to draw the conclusions by collating Marxist theoretical theorems with practice.

The ideological function of the social sciences includes, of course, not only to enrich, further develop and make the theory more concrete and exact in its details through new discoveries but also to take an active part in forming the socialist consciousness and in strengthening the role of Marxist ideology by making use of the results and theoretical generalizations of the various sciences that are deductible from practice. The complexity of the task is well illustrated by the research which was conducted in the past years about the questions of life style and consciousness and which not only tried to disclose the complex situation arising from the transient character of our society and from the contradictions of the development but also pointed to those conditions which are necessary for a more efficient transformation of consciousness. These conditions are, for the most part, not only subjective and conscious but also economic and social, in other words, they have an objective character.

[Question] The ideological function of the social sciences can only prevail if the results reach the consciousness of society through suitable channels and agents. What do you think, how is this being realized?

[Answer] The results and the effectiveness of this work fundamentally depends on how we can make use of scientific discoveries in our political, pedagogical and public educational work. I am thinking here of new knowledge and also of new ways of outlook and approach which shed a new light on facts already known. In education, however, only those results may be disseminated which are in fact accepted. Generally, considering the recipients, there is a need for a certain "transformation" of scientific results. Even in recognizing the difficulties of this, we must say that the public opinion absorbs the results all too slowly and it also takes too long until text books and hand books incorporate them. Of course, it is the press, the radio and television that can react the fastest. But it often happens here too, that reviews of new results are incidental because of a lack of close enough relations with research.

I myself am doing research on Rakoczi and, together with many other fellow historians and literary historians, hoped that we have done something to give a more objective picture to the public about the Kuruts freedom fight and its participants. And yet, discussions even with learned people will soon reveal that in judging Rakoczi and other historical figures, the old prejudices or the earlier wrong informations still prevail.

The various surveys prove that the school and the public educational institutions are belated in adopting the new historical facts, and this also slows down, of course, the propagation of the Marxist historical

outlook. Let me add: all of this is so in spite of the fact that our historical views today are more realistic and more objective, giving a picture, which takes international relations more into account than ever before, of the development of our nation, of our people. The scientists, many of whom are reluctant to take part in forming public opinion and undervalue the propagation of knowledge and participation in public debates, are also responsible for the slow propagation of the new results.

[Question] How could the situation be improved and what should be done so that the social sciences can take a more effective part in solving important and current questions facing society?

[Answer] I have already mentioned, how economic science took part in the preparation of the reform of the economic mechanism and I can continue by saying that it also took part in its further development and in working out the measures involving the change in product structure or the improvement of our foreign trade. But the participation of scientists and researchers is much broader than this. Jurisprudence, for instance, took part in preparing the constitution or, among other things, the new penal code. Representatives of both the natural and social sciences have made contributions to the working out of measures regarding the updating of public education. There is hardly any significant and comprehensive measure in whose preparation, thanks to the political leadership, no researcher was involved. But it is also a justified demand that sociologists should more regularly take part in working out other questions as well, involving, for instance, the areas of industry, agriculture, health and urban development.

The fundamental task of scientific research is, of course, sizing up the situation, making the prognoses and alternative proposals, while the decision-making is left to the politicians. The regular and continuous participation of researchers in the preparation of decisions will, by the way, increase their responsibility and, I might add, their self confidence as well.

[Question] The researchers often mention that the relationship between science and practice could be significantly improved only if the social sciences would receive more social assignments and if they would be more familiar with social demand.

[Answer] The development of society and that of science are not independent from one another and it also follows from the demand of the inner development of the social sciences that they must be familiar with social needs. Therefore they must not always wait for external assignments. But it is also necessary that practice and the party or state leadership call the attention of the researchers to the important tasks to be done facing society by making them aware of the phenomena observed in reality. Such requests, such social assignments were well exemplified by the competent party organ when, after and on the basis of the resolutions of the

11th party congress, it formulated the most significant social questions and asked the respective research institutions to examine how they could contribute in their own way to the solution of these questions. To show what the scientific benefits of such assignments are, not to mention their practical value, as suggested earlier, let it suffice to say that in the course of this research, interdisciplinary cooperation was much increased and this, by the way, is one of the fundamental conditions of modern research.

[Question] Up to now, we have been talking about what can and what does sociology do to more effectively help the socialist transformation of society. Do the various conditions necessary for this exist for science?

[Answer] Regarding the research base, I can say that the situation in our country is good, even by international comparison. The structural framework, economic means and personal conditions of sociological research are generally adequate.

The political conditions are also good. The socio-political directives accepted in 1969 by the party Central Committee have also stimulated sociological research, have clarified the relations between sociology and politics and, among other things, stated that the freedom of scientific research must be maintained, coupling it with the responsibility toward the cause of socialist society.

I see mainly three reasons why the results are not satisfactory in spite of the improving conditions. The first is that research subjects are complex and demand interdisciplinary cooperation, but suitable outlook, methods and cooperation have not yet been developed. The second flaw is that the research base is much too dissipated and is difficult to concentrate. Often there is no capacity to deal with important topics. And finally, there is not enough appraising criticism in our scientific life. Debates are often too general or concentrate on questions of secondary importance.

[Question] What is then the most important thing to do to improve the relations between the social sciences and practice?

[Answer] I think the most important thing is to further develop the relations between science and practice in a well-functioning, carefully conceived system. One of the conditions for this is that research planning should take into consideration both the demands of practice and the characteristics of science. In addition to long-range research plans, there is a need for three and five-year plans that more directly serve in solving the problems and in preparing decisions. Institutions must be made more flexible and more effective to make it possible for the specialists of the various scientific branches to cooperate in the form of working teams and groups. And finally, there is a need for a livelier scientific life in which a critical spirit prevails. There is much to do also in the area of practice, so that maintaining relations with research will not be

incidental and that a continually operating mechanism of information, advising and social assignments be developed.

Our International responsibility is also urging us to make a step forward in this area as well. We can also contribute to the solution of the great questions that the world and the socialist countries are concerned with. Even today, under changed circumstances, the words of Janos Arany, who was also a competent science-politician, are timely: "But as in material things it was an ever more active participation in world affairs that was beneficial for us and not seclusion--which is by now impossible--the growth of our political weight in spiritual things is in direct proportion to the extent with which we have furthered universal science."

9414

CSO: 2500

RESPONSIBILITY OF CREATORS OF COMMUNIST ART

Bucharest SCINTIA in Romanian 16 Nov 79 p 4

[Discussion by George Macovescu, president of the Writers Union, Dina Cocea, vice president of the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions, Viorel Marginean, vice president of the Union of Plastic Artists, Geza Domokos, director of the Kriterion Publishing House, and Univ Prof Ion Dochi Balazs]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Management and guidance of art by our party is a vital necessity if Romanian art and literature are to serve the cause of socialism and progress. By this guidance of artistic development we do not mean imposition of any particular creative style or manner but a general political-ideological effort and concern for the social mission of artists and writers and for the complete correlation of literature and all the arts with the great efforts of the Romanian people in the high social endeavor that the workers of Romania have undertaken."

In fulfilling its historic mission of socialist and communist construction in Romania and enjoying the entire people's confidence and devotion, the RCP is performing the leading role entrusted it by society in all activities and in all social experience. The Ninth Party Congress made considerable innovations in art and culture by correcting and eliminating the abusive undemocratic practices of the previous period and by raising the guidance of intellectual creation to the standards of a new quality in keeping with a truly scientific conception characterized by complete and discriminating understanding of the position and educational mission of art and the artist in our society. In this revolutionary innovation, supported by a truly democratic outlook, the decisive part is played by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, who has defined the educational mission of creative work and outlined the ways of intensive democratization of culture in the service of the people.

The documents of the approaching forum of the communists, the 12th Party Congress, eloquently express the sense of responsibility with which our party is performing its historic mission by securing the prosperity of socialist Romania and guiding our nation on the path of communist civilization with skill and resolve. As the replies to this survey indicate, the servants of art and

culture are inspired elements in the vast process of forming the new man, and they fully feel in their own activities the beneficial effects of this careful guidance fraught with understanding and concern for their creative work.

We have asked some creative artists and literary critics and historians to tell us first of all about the innovations made in artistic and cultural guidance by the Ninth Party Congress and the following period.

New, Democratic Conception of Development of Art and Culture

GEORGE MACOVESCU: As in other activities, the Ninth Party Congress brought Romanian literature and art a new conception of their development and the relationships that should exist between political power and the creative artist. Such relationships have existed and exist in all societies. Any manifestation of the individual regardless of its nature is determined by the characteristics of the society in which the producer of material or intellectual values lives and acts. This objective truth is no longer disputed because any discussion would be purely pedantic and out of sheer love of contradictions. No one can logically maintain the contrary.

The problem that still arises is that of the nature of the relationships between the political power in a state and the producer of artistic values, or more precisely whether these relationships are cooperative toward the sole purpose of raising the respective people's intellectual level or whether there are contradictory relationships.

In socialist society relations are cooperative ones. The creative artist understands the political aims of society, and society understands and supports the artist. But in the dialectical course of experience distortions can occur on both sides that lead to failures and mutual dissatisfaction, and if they are not corrected in time they can create harmful situations. Under those circumstances the political factor in power in a state must intervene to restore the balance of relations and make it possible for art and literature to develop to the full and for society to benefit to the utmost by artistic achievements for the sake of its present and future aims.

The Ninth Party Congress and our party's whole policy, initiated by Nicolae Ceausescu and steadfastly applied in the last 14 years, made just such a correction and instituted a new conception. Administrative wardship was abandoned and the creator was given freedom to act as his conscience dictates as a man living in a socialist state and in an exceptional period of the Romanian people's history. A certain practice in the past had led to a replacement of the process of artistic creation by guidance and support of the creator. Intervention, subtle or brutal, exceeded the limits of advice or expression of opinions and became an order and a unilateral decision, depriving the creator of initiative and especially of responsibility to society for his own work. The party and its secretary general intervened to put a stop to this practice, restoring the artist's confidence in himself and in his abilities as well as his awareness of his responsibility to his fellow men for all his creative work. Of course this is not happening automatically and much work

must be done to change the attitude of some people who may be well intentioned but still think "lecturing" is the infallible method of developing a great art and do not easily give up the practices of the past.

DINA COCEA: I feel the party's emphasis on art at the Ninth Party Congress especially is noteworthy, and I mean the outstanding quality of the guidance in which Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu in person has played a decisive part by virtue of his foresight and exceptional authority. The results in which we have taken pride in the last decade directly express the nature of this guidance and a dynamic, flexible cultural policy that is receptive to the new.

This better guidance is primarily characterized by statement of the objectives of socialist culture, definite objectives that are also constantly differentiated to adjust to the changing realities, to the processes of material and intellectual experience, to the new stages we have passed through, and to the aims of forming the new man of our fully developed socialist society.

ION DODU BALAN: Socialism is the purposeful work of the entire people, thoroughly considered and inspired by the party, the architect of the new fully developed society, the mold of the new man's consciousness, the experienced and wise head of our great socialist family. As the leading force in Romania, the RCP is concerned with raising both the material living standard of the workers and their intellectual level, and with increasing the per capita investments of kindness, goodness, beauty and truth, revolutionary and party spirit, inspired patriotism and desire to collaborate with all peoples of the world.

Through the personal interest taken by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu a new climate has been created in Romania in the last 15 years, a climate favorable to development of all talents, a liberal climate fraught with humanism and respect and esteem for creation and creators, and a climate of confidence without suspicion, conducive to confrontation of opinions and discussions of principle wherein artistic value, intellectual power and true feelings predominate and not administrative measures. In this democratic climate the status of art and the artist is strictly observed, as well as the distinctive nature of creative work and its right to a dialectical approach to the most varied subjects, because nothing human is foreign to our art. The party's basic documents, the brilliant work of its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the extensive ideological discussions held in broad circles of workers and specialists have steadily developed the fundamental categories of scientific aesthetics such as the relationship between art and life and between the national and the universal, the purpose of art, its epistemological and educational function, its realism and humanism, the nature of the conflict between the old and the new and the reflection of this dialectical process in creative literature and art, and the problems of creative freedom, diversity of styles, accessibility, the cultural heritage and party guidance of art and culture. This inestimable theoretical contribution has profoundly influenced the process of artistic creation in the last 15 years

and led to the output of works of high artistic value on sound ideological grounds. Moreover bold organizational measures were taken to improve this climate. In view of the ideological maturity, patriotism and sense of responsibility of our creators in all fields, censorship has been abolished and the foundations have been laid for a true creative freedom in the sense of full responsibility for the truth, for the dialectical processes taking place in life and in people's awareness, and for the intellectual sustenance of our people.

GEZA DONOFOS: It would be appropriate here to talk about a favorite subject in our literary activity, namely the courage of the author and publisher. As we know, one of the consequences of the intensified socialist democracy our party consistently promotes was the disappearance of institutional censorship. I say institutional censorship because we still find occasional manifestations of the censorious attitude despite the fact that the party decision on the subject clearly and unequivocally states that the author and the publisher are responsible for the printed text, usually in cases where greater responsibility and trust are regarded as a burden and viewed with displeasure. This secondary phenomenon, almost inherent in the period of transition, is therefore a reality. Nor do I see why I should deny that it has a disturbing effect. Yet if we tried to explain some deficiencies of our literature by this alone we would be exaggerating in a one-sided way, because the question also arises here of the publisher's responsibility and whether he is assuming the role of defender and supporter of the author's work, capable of proving in all honesty that he knows how to profit by the real opportunity offered him and also capable of seeing that no personal convictions or existential interests of his (also present of course, at least at times) will be treated in any way as literary policy or pass for a "social imperative." If we wish to enjoy confidence and want our work to be esteemed, we must know how to arm ourselves with moral, party firmness based upon a receptive, widely comprehensive attitude with the sense of responsibility and impeccable professional ethics that characterize the militant communist.

It has always been the wish of publishers conscious of their mission to have the opportunity to edit and publish works with good chances of becoming classics and consequently books likely to be recognized by future generations. And the act of having such a manuscript printed confirms the editor's professional and human qualities.

As a result of collaboration between authors as talented and right-thinking people and their devoted comrades and exacting allies who are the gifted publishers, the readers should receive books which, whether they set out to reconstitute historical events or whether they are inspired by current ones, bring out the urgent problems of our socialist society with all boldness and with every confidence in the power of our humanist, communist ideas.

VIOREL MARGINEAN: The meetings of the plastic artists with Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu (and I mention only the most recent one, held this spring at the demonstrations in conclusion of the second National Cintarea Romaniei Festival) demonstrate the general democratism inspiring our entire

cultural-artistic activity and the role assigned art by the party as an essential means of educating the consciousness and forming the new man. Of course there can be no question of any petty supervision as was unfortunately practiced in a previous period, but it is a question of a real and complete creative freedom expressed in every individual creator's keen awareness of the increasingly important function of art in modern society. I would note in this connection that one of the important fields of modern Romanian art is the one that more and more graphically depicts the efforts of the social factors and the creators on behalf of the aesthetic quality of the environment of existence and the environment of production.

Diverse Styles Serving the People's Life and Work

ION DOBU MALAN: In its constant effort to educate the educators, the party directs creative literature and art toward the major current subjects, toward a complete and profound realism and toward a true humanism, asking them to produce works of high value capable of molding the consciousness and embellishing and enriching the lives of the builders of socialism. Of course no one is told how to write, paint or sculpt. Everyone is free to create according to his inner nature or talent. But the beneficiaries of creative literature and art demand that the work of art be worthy and true, that it meet their intellectual needs, that it encourage and inspire them in their constructive efforts, and that it help them to better knowledge and more profound and complete understanding of the laws that govern their existence and the changes in their own consciousness and in social relations. Everyone conscious of his responsibility to himself and society is careful of the fare he offers his mind, at least as careful as he is of the food he gives his body. In the name of this rational concern everyone has the right to demand of creative work that it not be vitiated by false views of the world and life, that it not poison his mind with backward, idealist conceptions, and that it not present as models of life paper dolls and figures unrepresentative of our era and society and the moral climate in which we live, or disoriented, marginal people with thoughts tangled in metaphysical tow and darkened minds, rare and salient remnants of a dead world. The freedom of the consumer of art is as great and real as that of its creator. Therefore in the vast field of cultural democracy our party feels justified in demanding realistic, dialectic presentation of things and in requiring the reflection of the conflict between the old and the new to conform to the objective truths of constant evolution.

In our party's new and radically innovating conception of artistic and literary guidance, no one in the liberal, democratic climate of socialist society can be indifferent to the mental fare (as Victor Hugo defined culture) of the masses of workers. Therefore under the party's careful, competent and discriminating guidance and of the creators in Romania of all generations regardless of nationality and in complete unity of will, feeling and thought have been creating a new, socialist culture, imbued with a revolutionary spirit, replete with authenticity and realism, and vibrating with a high humanism and intense patriotism.

To be sure creation and diffusion of culture cannot be idyllic. Sometimes difficulties arise. But what is important is the worthy democratic method of undisturbed intellectuality by which the problems are resolved in the RCP's broad view of culture. Our party heartily encourages all creative artists to express the truth, the truth of life in its continuous dialectical evolution, for when the truth is not free, the artist's freedom cannot be true. At times some convey the impression that they do not know how and to what end others' freedom should be used in their effort to create a realistic, humanist and revolutionary literature and art. They seem to want a spirit of intolerance of the tastes and ideas of brothers practicing a patriotic literature of good quality and a functional art integrated in the process of communist education of the masses of workers. But aggressive, administrative intolerance is incompatible with the moral climate of solicitude for the creator that the party has created especially since the Ninth Party Congress and the profoundly democratic spirit of the 15th Party Congress is enhancing and enriching more and more. Against the background of this highly humanist democracy our art and literature are guided by the party fruitfully and creatively in order to best meet the intellectual needs of our people.

GEZA DOMOKOS: If I were asked what is now the most important thing about our profession I would reply that it is regular and further promotion of the publishing principle and practice of receptiveness, diversity and particular differences, and this too perhaps in an even more purposeful and consistent way than heretofore. This means recognition and active acceptance of choices of the most diverse subjects, of experiments concerning nonuniform perception of space-time for example, and of styles based on the accomplishments of traditional or modern prose, as well as support for the implementation of the various trends in a dedicated socialist spirit without losing sight of the current requirements.

We often hear that our writers should present the great problems of the era. Agreed, but the era and the problems appear in one way here in socialist Romania and in another way in Detroit, for example, in the General Motors automotive plants or anywhere, on a junk tossed by waves on the edge of the Indian Ocean. Humanity, universal in principle, has never been so disparate as in our times, or so divided economically and in its political and moral ideals. If there are people whose baggage of knowledge and experience of life or merely a sensitivity and a talent quite out of the ordinary enable them to write stirring works about the times and problems of other regions, well they are people to be envied. But I am convinced that actually we can be satisfied if we ourselves succeed in joining the world of ideas and feelings of universal culture with the achievements and contradictions flowing from our particular realities.

VICORIL MARGINEAN: The architect of our present and future accomplishments is of course the RCP.

The so varied cultural manifestations of the last decade and among them those of the plastic arts (whether in the field of monumental art, in painting, sculpture, drawing, decorative arts, scenography, etc.) have constantly

called the attention of public opinion to the aspiration to an extensive and durable cultural construction. It is a matter of an active attitude and a liberal outlook that includes alike the present and the revaluation of all that is more valuable that history has bequeathed us in the artistic field as well as in all the fields of our economic, social and political activity. This vast effort to order and apply bold initiatives based on the realities of Romania today that determine the prospects of our future evolution is included in the very Draft Directives that are the subject of such inspired public discussions.

The liberal developmental programs that include Romania's whole socioeconomic evolution accordingly include the artistic movement as well, which in the present context of development is striving to keep pace with the entire evolution of modern society toward an increasingly intensive advance in the future. This is attested by the great collective exhibitions whose works, especially in recent years, have revealed in the most varied materials and techniques and in a wide range of modes of expression (a graphic illustration of creative freedom) the desire to present and fix in various forms the essence of the contemporary realities, while pointing out their implications. And I feel we should emphasize here the merit of the liberal encouragements to thorough knowledge of Romania and the creation of conditions for the people's direct participation in social and political activity. These are the results of the party's management of the destinies of us all regardless of the field in which we work. Broad receptiveness to the nation and to people's needs and concerns is the highly influential example that the party secretary general always sets us.

Artists of the most varied backgrounds have been requested to record the evolution of places and people and to accumulate their own recollections of them. True interpreters of modern sensibilities, they have succeeded not only in evoking but also in lending an artistic reaction to the explosion of vitality in the last few years of Romania's all-around development.

Art's Educational Mission and the Artist's Militant Attitude

DINA COCEA: As we well know, in our twofold capacity as witnesses and participants, each in his field, the vast revolutionary reform begun 35 years ago under the RCP's leadership has involved the nation's intellectual life from the start. Access to culture is a structural component of socialist society. Along with socialist reform of agriculture and industrialization, education of the broad masses was begun as part of the cultural revolution. Parallel to and in direct continuation of literacy, bold steps were taken to introduce the masses to the world of thought and feeling of poetry and prose, the theater and films, music and painting. Critical revaluation was begun of the cultural heritage, which received in time the most accurate and substantiated criteria. A multitude of cultural institutions were founded, capable of supporting the general diffusion of culture. It was planned to encourage original creation inspired by the facts of our social-political activity. And so strenuous efforts were made on behalf of a culture which, being socialist in form and content, would have a revolutionary purpose and constitute a means

of building the new society, by reforming the class consciousness of the workers and peasants and by enlisting the intellectuals of good faith.

The consistency with which the party has regarded culture as a major aim of creative revolution as well as a necessary means of reforming the consciousness and of extending and consolidating socialist construction is an evident fact.

ION DODU BALAN: Our creators, a soul in the soul of their people and reliable party aids, most of whom were educated and fostered by the party, know that socialism is built by work, science and consciousness and therefore this trio is always present in the personalities of their heroes.

It would be difficult to imagine fulfillment of the high educational mission of creation without an active, militant attitude on the part of the creator. Definitely leaving the "ivory tower" and becoming a man of the city, as G. Calinescu demanded and as we see the great artists everywhere have actually proceeded, the creator quite knowingly assumes the role of educator and inspired participant in the history of his time, molding characters and taking himself as a pattern. By fostering work and thirst for knowledge they help to form and mold the consciousness and the new man, who is being created in a difficult, complicated and lengthy process but who is still the representative type of this historical period, upon which is brightly projected the strong personality of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of the new socialist culture whose creative thought has opened up broad and fruitful prospects to the creative intellect in all fields and whose communist humanity, enhanced by an exemplary patriotism, has established a moral climate favorable to promotion of talents and cultural democracy. Under party leadership a new world and a new man have been formed on the old Romanian lands, and they are rich, liberal and inexhaustible sources for creators in all fields of art. The party is directing our artists' inspiration toward these sources and not to eyesores. It is a logical guidance required by life to which all creators of beauty that is inspired by life for life subscribe in interpreting their high educational mission.

A Free Dialog with Man Making His History in Freedom

GEORGE MACOVESCU: The creators have understood the communist party's new policy and taken it as a sign of revolutionary democratization of the society we are building in Romania. They have discerned both aspects of this policy, namely that creative freedom is determined partly by the needs of society and and the high aims of the party and partly by the nature of art and its evolution. They have realized that the people must be given an art that will lift them to the heights of the intellect and help them in their great task as builders of a new order, just as they have realized they must produce an art that is new in form and content. Repeating the same old formulas of the past is not creating a revolutionary art essential to the man of today and to modern times.

A great revolutionary poet said that art advances a step ahead of life. I would add that it should not be divorced from life either.

GEZA DOMOKOS: Any coherent and equitable cultural policy calls for clarification of the concept of accessibility as an essential element of the principle of cultural democracy.

To imagine that the accessibility of a work of art is solely or primarily derived from an intellectual, rational or logical function only means to let yourself be tempted by a vulgarly simplistic solution. I know people who are quite at home in problems of ideology and prove excellently informed on the subject of politics but are insensitive to the signals of a work of art, and their capacity for aesthetic response is relatively limited. On the other hand I have met lovers of beauty with no very rich culture who can understand highly complex works and even interpret them in an original way, baffling my friends who are so well versed in logic. This reminds me that Gyorgy Lukacs once said that understanding or consequently misunderstanding of a work of art cannot be contested, and that it is not a subject for dispute but a fact. But the question concerns the reason or the cause of the misunderstanding, and does it lie in the defects of the author's exposition or in those of the reader's reception? Aestheticizing, aristocratic ideas contradict the possibility of concluding any lasting alliance (or in fact any system of mutual rights and obligations) between authors and readers, but neither is the dubious "democratism" of the primitive reader inclined to accept it.

I feel the fundamental condition of this alliance is the creation of viable characters that are accordingly valid in the order of reality that ultimately determines them, such as a literary replica of the man of our times, that versatile personality who, so far from being a mere product of history, creates and produces history, or a man of labor capable of taking the risk of pioneering, searching and experimenting and conscious of his duties as a member of the socialist community, who at the same time maintains and develops his personality and human dignity.

VIOREL MARGINEAN: In conformity with the same trends toward general democratization of culture as a result of our party's policy, artists' activity in production environments is becoming increasingly frequent. The fact is related to acceleration of the industrialization process and the desire to form harmonious and stimulating relations between human creation and the environment where it goes on. And it is also a matter of the creators' civic spirit and their integration in the socioeconomic and productive processes and in effective construction of our new civilization. Our artists have produced several plans for aesthetic improvement of the production environment which, thanks to some economic and sociological studies, have increased labor productivity. I would also add the efforts and important results obtained by our artists in the field of industrial design. When I visited the Samples Fair this year I was very pleased to hear the words of president Nicolae Ceausescu who, in expressing his wish to see Romanian products of quality, pointed out the artists' major role in making these products as beautiful and functional as possible and competitive on the world market. We have a noteworthy creative potential in the field of design that we can use in designing such products, and we hope (in the spirit of the new five-year plan dedicated to quality) that in the future more and more artists specializing in this field

will be commissioned or at least consulted by the decision-makers in industry.

This is only one of the forms of dialog artists are establishing with the beneficiaries of their creative work, in the spirit of the same general democratization of all our activities and in the light of our party's idea of participation of all the people of all categories in close unity in the development of our dear nation.

DINA COCEA: The qualitative leaps in art have coincided with the period in which the democratization of our whole social and political experience was accompanied by democratization of the process of creating and disseminating our culture. The field of creative initiative and freedom of expression has been expanded. The party made an impassioned appeal and arranged for the art institutions to be relieved of the petty supervision that used to burden the creative processes, so that everywhere the collectives of communists, servants of the stage and brush, film-makers etc. can undertake their important tasks with political maturity and responsibility and perform creatively in the most inspired way and to the full extent of their personalities.

The noble aims confronting culture and the atmosphere in which the party-artist dialog is conducted (a dialog I would consider internal because our leading creators and most Romanian servants of the theater, music, film, painting and sculpture feel and are acting in the new, revolutionary spirit) are enriching and stimulating the creators' sense of communist responsibility and dedication even further. The atmosphere of discussion and accomplishment with which the entire nation is greeting the 12th Party Congress is a season of examination for the artist, and one of new and more enterprising plans.

As it was said at the recent Plenum of the Management Council of the ATM [Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions], we feel directly involved in the efforts of the entire people as active and reliable contributors to the construction of socialist and communist Romania's material and cultural civilization. And we are resolved to prove this in all seriousness, by deeds and by valuable, viable and moving works addressed to the broad masses.

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